

**ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF THE YOUTH
IN URBAN SOUTH-EASTERN ANATOLIA**

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ABSTRACT

ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF THE YOUTH IN URBAN SOUTH-EASTERN ANATOLIA

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This study aims to find out the patterns of economic, social and political participation of the youth in urban South-eastern Anatolia Region of Turkey. Analyses of the data reveal that youth in the South Eastern Anatolia Region does not and cannot participate in various dimensions of the society. Youth in South-eastern Anatolia cannot participate into the labour market. There are too limited job opportunities in the region. On the other hand, working young people are prone to low quality working conditions. Young people also cannot participate into the social life in the public sphere. Social and economic pressures and lack of opportunities are limiting young people in a social life mainly in the private sphere within a closed community. Finally, youth in South-eastern Anatolia Region are keeping themselves away from political mechanisms. Political structure is not attracting young people because of the negative experiences that the people participated in politics having for years.

One of the most important findings of the study is that different dimensions of participation namely participation in the labour market, participation in social life and political participation are dependent on each other. Another result is that both the level

and experiences of youth participation are highly determined by the social characteristics such as gender, family background, education level and age.

Keywords: Youth, Economic Participation, Social Participation, Political Participation, South-eastern Anatolia, Turkey

ÖZ

GÜNEYDOĞU ANADOLU KENTLERİNDE GENÇLİĞİN EKONOMİK, SOSYAL VE POLİTİK KATILIMI

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Bu çalışma Güneydoğu Anadolu Bölgesi'nin kentsel alanlarında yaşayan gençlerin ekonomik, sosyal ve politik katılım örüntülerini ortaya çıkarmayı amaçlamaktadır. Veri analizleri Güneydoğu Anadolu Bölgesi'nde gençlerin toplumun farklı alanlarına katıl(a)madıklarını ortaya koymaktadır. Güneydoğu Anadolu Bölgesi gençleri iş piyasasına katılamamaktadır. Bölgede istihdam olanakları çok kısıtlıdır. Öte yandan çalışan gençler de kötü çalışma koşullarına maruz kalmaktadır. Gençler kamusal alandaki sosyal hayata da katılamamaktadır. Sosyal ve ekonomik baskıların yanısıra imkanların yetersizliği de gençleri özel alanla sınırlı bir sosyal hayata hapsedmektedir. Son olarak Güneydoğu Anadolu Bölgesi'nde gençler kendilerini politik yapılardan uzak tutmaktadırlar. Politikaya katılan bireylerin olumsuz deneyimleri gençleri politikadan uzaklaştırmaktadır.

Çalışmanın en önemli bulgularından biri katılımın ekonomik, sosyal ve politik boyutlarının birbirine bağımlı olmasıdır. Bir diğer bulgu da gençliğin katılımında toplumsal cinsiyet, aile geçmişi, eğitim seviyesi ve yaş gibi sosyal özelliklerin büyük ölçüde belirleyici olmasıdır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Gençlik, Ekonomik Katılım, Sosyal Katılım, Politik Katılım,
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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1. Aim:

This study aims to find out the patterns of participation of the youth in South-eastern Anatolia. Throughout the thesis I try to find out the social dynamics of youth participation such as the social determinants of their participation (or non-participation), the obstacles for it and the strategies that can be used to cope with these obstacles.

South-eastern Anatolia has the lowest scores in Turkey in terms of various human development indicators and the young people in the region lack various opportunities and capabilities. The improved participation of the youth in all levels of the society improves the citizenship status and human development levels of the young people. Thus, the significance of this study is that it sheds light on the way to include the youth in South-eastern Anatolia Region and helps to improve their citizenship status and their human development levels.

This thesis takes into consideration the economic, social and political participation of the youth and increase in each dimension of youth participation can contribute significantly to the development of the young people. First of all, participation into the labour market is key in terms of transition from youth to adulthood. Second, participation into the social life in the public sphere enhances the social and psychological development of the young people. Finally, increasing political participation helps young people to learn to be a citizen, to comprehend their citizenship rights and it improves the democracy.

1.2. Literature on youth and participation:

The definition of 'youth' is ambiguous and varies among scholars. Generally, it can be defined as the life stage between childhood and adulthood (Jones and Wallace 1992 in Coles 1995) or between dependence and independence in economic and legal terms (Dean 1997). Hence, it is easier to comprehend youth as a series of transitions. Coles (1995) defines youth transitions as:

- The transition from full-time education and training to a full-time job in the labour market (the school-to-work transition)
- The transition from family of origin (mainly the biological family) to family of destination (the domestic transition)
- The transition from residence with parents (or surrogate parents) to living away from them (the housing transition)

The emergence and development of the concept of youth is determined by the changing political economy of the household and the labour market (Dean 1997). Although the differences and boundaries existed, the term youth did not emerge until the seventeenth century. As technology advanced through industrialism, division of labour between adult and child became more significant (Hall 1982 in France 2007). In medieval times, the dependent period of childhood would have ended at the age of seven since the young people were participating fully in the production processes.

With the industrialism, the nature and the organization of both the employment and family life changed and youth as a separate age category came out in the eighteenth century. With the increasing division of labour, particular tasks became the responsibility of the youth and the children and they have been paid (less) according to this division (Fyfe 1989 in France 2007). With the modernity and urbanisation traditional mechanisms to regulate and control families and communities have also changed and state took the responsibility of the regulation and controlling of youth who became the 'other' of the society (France 2007). Alan France argue that youth is viewed

as 'dangerous' and 'threat' to the stability and maintenance of the status quo as major social and economic changes have taken place. However, youth is also seen as 'vulnerable' and in need of protection. Thus, this view of 'dangerousness' and 'innocence' shaped the response of state to the youth question.

Through the years until the Second World War, the nation state and capitalist mode of production have become established and concerns over the condition and health of the youth have emerged. As the number of the healthy young people that is needed to serve as soldiers or workers in the industry had increased, the state intervention also increased. Youth employment, poor schooling and educational opportunities became major policy concerns (Davis 1990 in France 2007).

After the Second World War, the intervention of the state increased with the concerns over the conditions of youth in terms of health, education and employment and youth policies started to be implemented in many western countries. The inclusion of young people and improvement of the lives of citizens tried to be achieved through full employment policies as a part of Keynesian economics.

Nevertheless, with the economic crises in the 1970's, the rates of unemployment increased and the welfare state was blamed to be responsible for the increasing unemployment, crime and illegitimacy (MacDonald and Marsh 2005). Scholars such as Murray (1990) pioneered the concept of 'underclass' that young men from underclass are 'essentially barbarians'. Murray argued that due to the unemployment benefits and weak criminal justice systems youth chose criminal lifestyles and voluntary idleness instead of work.

After the mid 90's, with the decrease in unemployment and crime rates and harsh criticisms on the subject, conservative 'underclass' view was replaced by the wider concept of 'social exclusion' that was taking into account of multiple disadvantages

beyond simple income inequality and unemployment (MacDonald and Marsh 2005). The Third Way politics of New Labour Government in Britain and the use of the concept in the papers of European Commission made social exclusion popular in the policy area.

There are various definitions of and approaches to social exclusion. Silver (1994) summarizes three paradigms of social exclusion in terms of different theoretical perspectives. These are solidarity, specialization and monopoly.

Solidarity approach to social exclusion has its roots in French Republicanism influenced by Durkheim. According to this view, social solidarity is lost when the social bond between the individual and the society break down and social exclusion emerges as a threat to social cohesion (Silver 1994).

Second approach to social exclusion is specialization that originated from Anglo-American Liberalism. Specialization view considers social order as being consisted of networks of voluntary exchanges between autonomous individuals with their own interest and motivations. This liberal view of citizenship is based on the separation of spheres in social life and the contractual exchange of rights. Silver states that exclusion appears as discrimination if social groups prevent individual's free movement across different social spheres.

The last paradigm of social exclusion is monopoly which is mainly based on Weber and to a degree Marx. It views the social order as coercive and imposed by a set of hierarchical power relations. And, exclusion emerges due to the interplay of class, political power and status and serves the interests of the included. Hence, exclusion can be overcome through citizenship and extension of equal membership and full participation of outsiders in the community.

There are two main criticisms to the concept of social exclusion. First one is that social inclusion is focused on the social integration into the labour market and it hinders the existing inequalities such as by the social class (Byrne 1999 in MacDonald and Marsh 2005). Second criticism is that social inclusion discourse ignores the existence of working poor. There is no guarantee that employment will end the experience of social exclusion (MacDonald and Marsh 2005).

Until recently, participation literature was focusing on political participation. However, participation is defined as being consisted of economic, political, social and cultural dimensions in the documents of United Nations (UN) (United Nations 2003; 2005; 2007). It is also underlined in the documents of UN that youth participation should go side by side with other human development opportunities like education, health, productive employment and poverty alleviation (United Nations 2007).

Taking youth participation, with its different dimensions such as political, social, cultural and economic, in their agendas UN and its sub organizations drew attention on the issue. Initially, for the World Youth Year 1985 UN General Assembly declared three principles¹ one of which was participation for the development of youth (United Nations 1985). In 1989, participation was defined as a substantive right of all children and young people by Article 12 of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (United Nations 1989). Furthermore, in 1995 participation has been selected as one of the ten priority areas of The World Programme of Action for Youth (WPAY) and countries have committed to promote full and effective participation of youth in the life of society and in decision-making (United Nations 1995). After 2000 three worldwide reports on youth have been written and each covered the issue of youth participation (United Nations 2003; 2005; 2007).

¹ The other principles were 'development' and 'peace'.

The youth studies in Turkey can be classified as the ones considering the description of the youth through the republican period, the studies focusing on the changing values of the youth and the descriptive research studies on youth.

The studies focusing on the description of the youth evaluates the youth as a social actor since the late Ottoman times (Mardin 1988). Neyzi (2001) evaluates the construction of the 'youth' in Turkey in three periods. The first period is between 1923 and 1950 that youth were seen as the guardians of the regime. In this period youth were central to the nationalist ideology of the state since the aim of the regime was to create a new type of person represented by the youth with a new mind-set, filled with the values of the Republic and freed of what were perceived as 'the shackles of tradition'. The second is the period until the 1980 in which youth was perceived in public discourse as rebels and as a major threat to the nation due to the violence between political opponents. The view of youth in the last period after 1980 regards contemporary youth as apolitical consumers. In this period, youth in particular tend to be identified with the consumption-oriented lifestyles in the age of media and economic liberalism accompanied by widespread corruption and the private use of public resources.

Lüküslü (2005; 2009) also considers the different perceptions of the youth through republican times. She argues that a 'myth' was built for youth in all the periods. Young people were regarded as guardians of the republic, politicized rebels or apolitical consumers. Nevertheless, Lüküslü states that youth played a dual role, being constructed by the conjuncture of the period and at the same time acting as constructors of their time, and carriers of a new culture in all periods.

Another set of studies on youth in Turkey is focusing on the changing youth culture and values. The breaking point of the military coup d'état in 1980 is emphasized by various scholars (Atabek 1990; Kozanoğlu 1993; Göker 1998; Armağan 2004; Bursalı-Karakaş 2007). The youth life style after 1980's is compared with the one before 1980's and the

new youth is blamed to be apolitical, asocial and selfish. Although it is problematic that this popular view of youth only considers the urban, middle-class, highly educated young people as the 'youth' (İnanır 2005), it is clear that the values of young people changed dramatically due to various reasons. In his researches in 1979 and 1997 Armağan (2004) asked young people that what the most important values in their life are. 'Love' was the first one with 20% in 1979. However, 'Money' became the first in 1997 with 21% which was 2% in 1979.

Lastly, there are some researches on youth. However, many of them are consisting of descriptive results of field researches on basic socio-demographic characteristics of young people. On the other hand, there are also valuable research studies among them. Turkish Youth '98 research by Konrad Adenauer Foundation conducted in 1998 is one of the noteworthy of them. Unemployment, terror and education were found to be the biggest problems of the youth. It was found that there are structural and material obstacles for the participation in education and labour market. Furthermore, it was also found that membership of youth into social clubs and associations were low across the country.

Recent National Human Development Report titled 'Youth in Turkey' by the United Nations Development Programme (2008) and the 'State of the Youth Survey' conducted for the preparation of the report by the YADA Foundation (2008) are also remarkable. Report underlines that youth is not a homogenous category but this diversity is not recognised in policy-making. In a background paper written for the report, Çarkoğlu (2007) stated that "youth in Turkey does not and cannot participate in social and political life of the country at levels that would significantly contribute to national human development".

This thesis contributes to the youth participation literature in Turkey in two ways. Firstly, the participation studies in Turkey do not take into account the different

dimensions of participation and focusing solely on political participation. However participation has various dimensions such as educational attainment, labour market participation or social life participation as well as political participation. Furthermore, these different dimensions of participation are connected and dependent on each other. This study is unique in Turkey with its multi-dimensional and interdependent conceptualization of youth participation. Second, both the youth and participation studies are in the country level. Therefore, they cannot ascertain the regional level properties and needs. Hence, the study contributes to the literature also with its focus on the regional level problems and solutions.

1.3. Conceptual and methodological framework:

The key concepts used in this study are youth and participation. Definitions of the both concepts differ depending on the context. Thus, it is needed to define them clearly at the beginning of this study.

Youth is a socially constructed and ambiguous concept. It is not clear that who are the youth or when the childhood ends and youth starts or when youth ends and adulthood starts. I use the definition of youth as the age category between 15 and 24 years. Furthermore, the conceptualization of Coles (1995) mentioned above that takes youth as a series of transitions is also central throughout the thesis, since I focus my analyses on these transitions while analyzing the participation of the youth.

Similarly, the notion of participation is also indefinite. Although, only the participation into political life is understood when talking about participation, I try to use the more recent conceptualization of participation that takes different dimensions of it into consideration. The social exclusion conceptualization in general and the monopoly paradigm in particular helped me a lot when trying to understand the social integration/inclusion patterns and problems of the youth in South-eastern Anatolia, since

it takes into consideration that isolation from different spheres of the society. However, I preferred using the term participation since I try to have a broader view rather than focusing only on the experiences of the excluded. I compare and analyze the experiences of both the participants and non-participants taking their differences due to their social characteristics such as gender, family background, education level and age.

For the analysis, I use both qualitative and quantitative data. Qualitative data is consisting of 14 focus group interviews and 35 in-depth interviews that were conducted for the BAP projects titled “Problems of the youth in South-eastern Anatolia” and “Constructing a future map with youth: understanding the youth in South-eastern Anatolia” between August 2009 and January 2010. Regional data of the GAP Youth Survey which was conducted for the same project between May 23 and June 20, 2009 is used for the quantitative analysis. The national data of State of the Youth Survey that was conducted for National Human Development Report of United Nations Development Programme in Turkey between May 10 and July 10, 2007 and the national data collected for the second round of ‘European Social Survey’ between December 2005 and June 2006 are also used in order to make a comparison with the whole country.

1.4. Organization of the Study:

Regarding the multi-dimensional description of participation the study consists of chapters on the participation of the youth in labour market, social life and politics in addition to the introduction, methodology and conclusion chapters. The chapters on the participation of the youth in different dimensions of the society are started with brief literature review and findings of the recent researches on the subject. In data analysis sections, national and regional data is used. After giving the level of participation with descriptive statistics, the differences among youth in terms of participation according to gender roles, family background, education level and age are analyzed.

The next chapter (Chapter 2) on the methodology of the thesis includes the research questions of the study, the definition of the concepts used, information about the data used and data analysis and the limitations of the study.

Chapter 3 is on labour market participation of the youth in the region. It is found that the level and the conditions of employment in South-eastern Anatolia Region for the youth are not satisfying. There are too limited employment opportunities for young people. Unemployment rates are very high. Moreover, most of the jobs in the market are low quality and low paid jobs. Social security coverage is very limited. Employment in temporary or seasonal jobs is widespread. Participation of women into the labour market is especially very low. Women are almost totally excluded from the labour market. Family background is also effective on employment participation. The labour market structure does not offer upward social mobility options for the youth from poorer families.

In the Chapter 4, participation of the youth in social life is analyzed. I found out that social life of the young people in South-eastern Anatolia is restricted to the private sphere and is mostly centred on television. There are too limited opportunities for them. Especially, young women are facing with serious hindrances from their families. Furthermore, economic pressures are also preventive for the participation of young people in the social life.

In Chapter 5, I analyzed the political participation of the youth in South-eastern Anatolia. I found out that youth political participation rates are very low. Youth are kept themselves away from politics for various reasons. Alternative structures of political participation such as NGOs are not attracting the youth as well. As in other dimensions of participation, young women have problems in participating in politics, too. Family background is also found to be determinative on youth political participation.

Finally, in the conclusion chapter I make a general evaluation of the thesis and I suggest policy implications for improving the participation of the youth in South-eastern Anatolia in different dimensions of the society.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

2.1. Research questions:

The main research question of this study is: “What are the patterns of participation of the youth in South-eastern Anatolia?”. Throughout the thesis I also try to answer the below questions in order to answer my main research question:

- How does the youth in South-eastern Anatolia differ from the whole Turkey in terms of participation into different dimensions of the society (labour market, social life and politics)?
- What are the social dynamics of non-participation of the youth in various dimensions of the society?
- What are the structural barriers in the region against the participation of the youth in South-eastern Anatolia?
- Are there any relationships between different dimensions of participation and age groups?
- Are there any relationships between different dimensions of participation and gender?
- Are there any relationships between different dimensions of participation and family background?
- Are there any relationships between different dimensions of participation and the level of education?

2.2. Definition of youth:

As mentioned in the introduction chapter, the definition of the youth varies in different contexts. In this study, I use the age definition of UN and many other organizations in which the youth is defined as the age category between 15 and 24. There is also a practical advantage in using this age definition of youth as the data from different sources used in this study also define the youth in the same way.

2.3. Data and scope of the research:

This study is mainly based on the field researches conducted for the projects named “Problems of the youth in South-eastern Anatolia”² and “Constructing a future map with youth: understanding the youth in South-eastern Anatolia”³ coordinated by Dr. Umut Beşpınar and driven by a research team at METU including Prof. Dr. Sencer Ayata, Assist. Prof. Dr. Kezban Çelik and Dr. Umut Beşpınar. Face-to-face questionnaire survey, focus group and in-depth interviews were conducted in the project. Face-to-face questionnaires were prepared by the professors in the project and the field survey was conducted by TNS-Piar and PBG companies. Focus group and in-depth interviews were carried out with the financial support provided by the above mentioned BAP projects.

The researches were conducted in the South-eastern Anatolia Region which is one of the 12 regions of Turkey formed according to the NUTS (Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics) classification system of the European Union. The region includes 9 cities: Gaziantep, Kilis, Şanlıurfa, Adıyaman, Diyarbakır, Mardin, Şırnak, Batman and Siirt.

² The project was run under the ‘Coordination of Scientific Research Projects’ (BAP) at METU with the project number: BAP-07-03-2009-12.

³ The project was run under the ‘Coordination of Scientific Research Projects’ (BAP) at METU with the project number: BAP-01-02-2009-101.

The region has a population of 7,462, 893 by 2009⁴ which is 10.3 % of the overall population of Turkey. When it is looked at the ratio of urban/rural population rate it is seen that urban population is rapidly increasing. By 2009, the percentage of the population living in the urban areas is 68 which was 56 % in 1990. In line with this the population in agriculture was also decreased from 40 % to 26 % since 1985 in the region. However, rapid urbanization does not only lead problems due to insufficient services but also may lead to increasing employment problems if preventive policies are not implemented (GAP Administration 2010).

The region is also named as GAP region. GAP (South-eastern Anatolia Project) is the name of the regional development project that has been ongoing since 1989 in these nine cities. The project is a multi-sector, integrated regional development project and aiming to reduce the regional disparities in Turkey. As an integrated project, it encompasses physical investments in such facilities as dams, power plants and irrigation schemes and also activities and investments in many different fields including agricultural development, industry, rural and urban infrastructure, communication, education, health, culture, tourism and other social services (GAP Administration 2010).

Field research has been started by the face-to face questionnaire named GAP Youth Survey (GAPYS) conducted by TNS-Piar and PBG (a private research company) with 946 young people in the city centres of 8 cities in the region (excluding Şanlıurfa) between May 23 and June 20, 2009. The distribution of the sample was determined by a two stage procedure. At the first stage, a minimum sample size of 30 was assigned to each city in order to create a meaningful statistical base. Then, the remaining sample was weighted according to the population sizes of the cities. Thus, smaller cities were weighted bigger than their weight in the universe.

⁴ Population data is taken from TURKSTAT Demographic Statistics, <http://tuikapp.tuik.gov.tr/adnksdagitapp/adnks.zul>, accessed on 29.08.2010

Sampling points were also selected by a multi stage procedure. Random streets were selected for every city as sampling points. At least 8 and at most 13 interviews conducted in every sampling point. If 8 interviews were not able to be conducted in a street then the interviewer passed to the next street at the left of the previous one. If 8 interviews could not be conducted again then the interviewer passed to the next street at the left. If the first street is reached again, interviewer passed to the substitute street that had been determined before. After the street was selected the building with the smallest number in the street was selected. Then, the flat with the smallest number selected in the building. At most one person was interviewed in a flat. If there are more than one young people in the flat, the one that had the closest birthday to the future was selected. Afterwards, interviewer passed to the second smallest building in the street and second smallest flat is selected in this building. The procedure continued till the end of the street.

On August 2009, 14 focus group interviews were conducted by a research team in which I also took part. The research team were consisting of two academics in sociology and two graduate students. In these interviews, we met with the youth in different cities. The executive members of youth centres and organizations, participants of youth centres and clubs, activists from political parties and NGOs, high school and university school students, working and unemployed youth were included. During the time I had in the field, I got the chance of observing the participation and non-participation experiences of the youth in the region. I also discussed and shared ideas with the young people and learned a lot about the experience of being young in the region. Afterwards, 29 in-depth interviews were conducted on October 2009 by another research team consisting of five sociology graduate students. Finally, six more in-depth interviews were conducted on January 2010 in order to grasp deeper information on few more issues such as the role of religion, cultural identities and political participation, since detailed information was not available in the previous interviews. Both the focus interviews and in-depth interviews were conducted with young people from various social groups and from various

backgrounds such as the young people from NGOs and youth clubs, students, working young people, unemployed young people, house women, etc.

In order to make nationwide comparisons, other than the quantitative and qualitative data from ‘Problems of the youth in South-eastern Anatolia’ project, two national data sets are also used in this study. First one is the data from ‘State of the Youth Survey’ (SYS) conducted by YADA Foundation⁵ for the preparation of 2008 National Human Development Report of United Nations Development Programme in Turkey titled ‘Youth in Turkey’⁶. The survey was conducted with 3322 young people from 12 cities in Turkey between May 10 and July 10, 2007. Second data is from the second round of ‘European Social Survey’ (ESS)⁷ collected in 12 NUTS-1 regions of Turkey with 1856 people aged above 15 between December 2005 and June 2006.

Moreover, throughout the study, I also use national and international statistics from the Turkish Statistics Association (TURKSTAT)⁸ and Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Statistics Portal⁹.

2.4. Statistical Analysis:

In the analysis of quantitative data PASW 18 (Predictive Analysis Software) is used. In addition to the descriptive analysis, chi-square analysis and ANOVA are also used. The analysis results are given in the Appendix A.

⁵ <http://www.yasamadair.org/>, accessed on 29.08.2010

⁶ The data is used in this study with the permission of the YADA Foundation.

⁷ <http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/>, accessed on 29.08.2010

⁸ <http://www.tuik.gov.tr/>, accessed on 29.08.2010

⁹ <http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx>, accessed on 29.08.2010

In addition to the raw data, a new variable is also created named 'socio-economic condition' in order to determine the participation into education and labour market. Various variables are used to define socio-economic condition. First, the ones going to school are defined as 'student'. Then, the working young people among the ones that are not going to school are defined as 'working'. The ones that are not going to school or work but saying that they are preparing for the university exam are defined as 'preparing for university'. Among the remaining, the ones saying that they are looking for a job are defined as 'unemployed'. Thus, there remain the ones that are not studying, not working and not looking for a job. Then, the reason for not looking for a job is used for the creation of other categories. The ones saying that they are not looking for a job for the reasons that 'I have to take care of my children', 'Since I am a house woman/house girl', 'I have to take care of my family' or 'My family/my husband do/does not let' are classified as 'house woman'. The ones saying that 'I do not want to work' or 'I do not need to work' are defined as 'idle'. Finally, the remaining that are not working due to other reasons such as 'There are not any jobs', 'I cannot find a job suitable for me in this region' or 'They pay very little' are defined as 'discouraged unemployed'.

In each chapter, the relationships between gender and family background, education and age are aimed to be analyzed. As mentioned above chi-square analysis and ANOVA are used to test these relationships.

2.5. Limitations of the study:

First and foremost, the biggest limitation for this study is that it does not cover the cultural dimension of participation. As mentioned above, participation has four dimensions namely; economic, social, political and cultural. First three dimensions are covered widely in this study. On the other hand, it was not able to include cultural participation since the data sets do not include variables related to the issue. However, there is a wide range of cultural and ethnic diversity in South-eastern Anatolia.

Moreover, there has been an ongoing political conflict due to the demands of the Kurdish population about their cultural rights. Thus, cultural aspect of participation has as much importance as the other three dimensions of the concept. In line with the issue, there are plenty of studies¹⁰ about the social consequences of recent forced migration due to the armed conflict in the region. The effects of forced migration on the participation of the youth also cannot be covered in the study.

An additional obstacle for this work is that none of the data sets were collected for the purpose of this thesis or for directly measuring participation. Thus, participation into various dimensions of the society could only be defined in the limits of the data. For example, there are three questions in the GAPYS about political participation. Thus, political participation is defined in terms of voting participation, membership into political parties and membership into other organizations.

Another problem with the data sets is that they are collected in the urban centres of the region. Although the urban population in the region has been increasing rapidly, there is still a considerable share of the population living in rural areas. However, they cannot be represented in this study.

Furthermore, there are not any studies in Turkey considering different dimensions of the participation at the same time. There are plenty of studies on labour market participation or educational enrolment but there are not any that examine diverse dimensions and their interrelations. Hence, there are not any benchmark studies for me to compare the results I obtain.

¹⁰ (Barut 2002), (Göç-Der 2002), (Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies 2006) (Kurban, et al. 2007), (Yükseker 2007)

Moreover, regional data are also very limited. Although, TURKSTAT has been collecting the national data according to the NUTS classification since 2002, the data do not encompass a wide range of subjects. For instance, I could not reach regional numbers in terms of material opportunities about social life participation such as the number of cinemas, theatres or youth centres. Similarly, there are not any data about political participation other than voting such as the numbers of people that participate in political parties or NGOs.

Similarly, there are not enough quantitative studies conducted in the region. There are many valuable and influential studies on the region but only few of them have a quantitative analysis framework. Likewise, there have been conducted various researches on youth representing Turkey but none of them has a regional focus and the ability to represent South-eastern Anatolia.

Lastly, I use the data collected from young people between the ages of 15-24. However, elders are also very influential on their participation patterns. The views of family members, teachers, employers, politicians, bureaucrats and other policy makers could have contributed to the study much. Therefore, they may be included in further studies.

Before concluding this chapter, I also want to mention the strengths of the study. First of all, in spite of the above mentioned limitations both the qualitative and the quantitative data cover a wide range of subjects about youth. In Turkey, there are few researches on youth and it is hard to find a data on youth covering these many subjects at the regional level. The national data from SYS and ESS both have a plenty of questions in a wide area covering different experiences of youth. In addition, qualitative data is also very affluent and detailed in diverse subjects. They contain data and provide valuable information about the youth from various backgrounds in South-eastern Anatolia.

CHAPTER 3

LABOUR MARKET PARTICIPATION AND YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

The concept of youth is considered as a social construction instead of a natural state of being. As a result of changing nature of the political economy and the labour market which has its roots in the capitalist division of labour, this concept has come into existence (Dean 1997). Thus, the concept of the youth itself has tight connections with labour market participation. Various scholars defined labour market participation as one of the key variables of transition from youth into adulthood (Fend 1994; Coles 1995).

Almost half (49.1%) of the young people in the “State of the Youth Survey”, which has been conducted for NHDR 2008 indicated that the thing they want the most is “a decent job”. This is followed by “respect” and “love” with 18.1 % and 16.9 % respectively (UNDP 2008). Given that labour market participation of the youth has such a crucial role in a life course, youth unemployment has serious consequences. Sen (1997) juxtaposed the consequences of youth unemployment as follows:

- loss of current output and fiscal burden,
- loss of freedom and social exclusion,
- skill-loss and long-run damage,
- psychological harm,
- ill health and mortality,
- motivational loss and future work,
- loss of human relations and family life,
- racial and gender inequality,
- loss of social values and responsibility
- organizational inflexibility and technical conservatism

Moreover, Çelik (2006) claimed that youth unemployment has its negative effects not only on the unemployed individuals but also on the families and on the communities. In short, unemployment threatens the overall integration of young people into society in the long run (Kieselbach 2003).

The issue of labour market integration is also important for the youth in South-eastern Anatolia. In GAPYS, young people were asked to rate the problems from 0 to 10 according to their importance. Among 15 problems mentioned, “unemployment” was rated at most with an average of 9.65 over 10. In South-eastern Anatolia, partly as a result of their low level of education, young people cannot involve in the labour-market. In addition to the low skills of the youth, some characteristics of the labour market in the region -the most important one being the existence of very scarce job opportunities- affect the integration of them into the employment structures.

In this chapter, after giving a brief summary of the youth unemployment literature in the world and in Turkey, I mention the structure and the properties of the labour market in Turkey and in the South-eastern Anatolia. Then, depending on quantitative and qualitative data, I try to explore the status of the youth unemployment and young people’s participation into the labour market in the region.

3.1.1. Youth unemployment literature and recent discussions on youth unemployment:

Although the history of paid work goes back to ancient times, the concept of unemployment has emerged in the industrial society. With the emergence of capitalism the character of poverty was transformed from vagrancy, landlessness and underemployment into unemployment (Perry 2000). This is mostly due to the growing importance of work in life. As Krishan Kumar (1984) said, work is placed at the centre not only of man but also of the history with industrialism.

The first serious threat of unemployment occurred during the ‘Great Depression’ in the 1930s in the United States and in many other countries. The unemployment rate increased from 3 % to 25 % in the US in 4 years between 1929 and 1933 (Steindl 2010).

In the years after Second World War, which were named 'Golden Age' with reference to welfare state implementations such as the 'Beveridge Model' in the UK or 'Social Insurance Model' in Germany, nation-states took the responsibility about employment and unemployment (Çelik 2006). These models of welfare state have been criticized on the grounds of constructing a dependency culture that undermines the motivation of welfare recipients to support themselves, and isolating and stigmatizing them in a way that over a long period this feeds into and accentuates the underclass mindset and condition (Nathan 1986 in Fraser and Gordon 1994).

The labour market structure and welfare state provisions have changed dramatically after 1980s. The industrial capitalism turned into a more flexible service production economy and the role and responsibility of the state about employment and unemployment began to erode with the Reagan and Thatcher governments in the US and the UK and in the military regime followed by Özal government in Turkey. Furthermore, in this new context, the risk of working poverty and the concerns about job quality came into discussion (European Commission 2001; International Labour Office 2010). In terms of youth employment, these discussions help new concepts to emerge such as underclass and social exclusion which are mentioned in the introduction in detail. These new concepts especially the recent one social exclusion consider unemployment as the first step of exclusion from different dimensions of the society such as economic exclusion, institutional exclusion, social exclusion, cultural exclusion and finally spatial exclusion (Kieselbach 2003).

3.1.2. Labour Market and Youth Unemployment in Turkey:

Turkey has also been experiencing similar progress with regard to labour market development and unemployment. Nevertheless, Gürsel and Ulusoy (1999) argue that Turkey is still in the transition phase from the agricultural economy to industrial

economy. As Bulutay (1995) concluded, as a developing country with its high population growth, Turkey still has a relatively high rural population and the weight of unpaid family workers is high in the economy. Although the population in the cities have been growing rapidly, cities do not grow their job creation capacities and industries proportional to their own growth rate. Thus, there emerge high rates of unemployment in the cities where labour market is segmented in several ways. Labour is heterogeneous and wage differences are high. Bulutay emphasizes that creation of new jobs is more important for the Turkish labour market than the destruction of jobs. By May 2010 the unemployment rate in Turkey is 11.0 %; labour market participation is below 50 % and about a quarter of the employment is in the agricultural sector by the end of 2009¹¹.

Bulutay (1995) points out that “unemployment in Turkey is confined to urban, single, young (particularly educated young) people”. This suggestion is still valid. The unemployment rate among the youth aged between 15 and 24 is 19.8 %. Moreover, it is 23.2 % in urban areas while it is 12.8 % in rural. However, it is necessary to repeat here that a high proportion of employed people in rural areas are unpaid family workers which comprise 31.2 % all the employed in rural areas by May 2010.

Bulutay concludes that limited creation of new, permanent and high-quality jobs is the main determinant of unemployment in Turkey and introduction of new, highly productive, permanent and satisfactory jobs is the only way to struggle with this problem. Similarly, Ansal et al. (2000) claimed that the neoclassical approach which suggests that the flexible labour market structure decreases the unemployment rate is not valid for Turkey. Despite the dramatic decrease in wages, increase in profits, high percentage of unregistered employment and increasing number of unpaid employment after 1980s, unemployment rates in Turkey increased. Thus, Ansal et al. suggest that the

¹¹ The labour force statistics in this chapter are taken from TURKSTAT, http://www.tuik.gov.tr/VeriBilgi.do?tb_id=25&ust_id=8, accessed on 18.08.2010

solution for the high unemployment rates should be sought in the demand side of the labour market.

As mentioned above, the rate of youth unemployment is higher and the youth contains 30 % of all the unemployed. Recent National Human Development Report of UNDP (2008) also underlines the significance of youth unemployment. In addition to the properties of the Turkish labour market mentioned above, the report emphasizes that the transition from school to work is problematic in Turkey and that low levels of education and low skills of young people is another major determinant of youth unemployment. In addition to this statement, the report claims that inexperience of young people makes it harder to find a job and even if they find a job it is harder to keep it for a long time. According to the State of Youth Survey only 38 % of the young people who joined the labour market worked more than six months in one job. Many employers hire young people and after working a few years they fire them and hire new young people instead of increasing the wages of the former employees or paying the fringe benefits to them. Moreover, working conditions are not well for young people. Working hours are too long. The coverage of social security mechanisms is insufficient. Given this situation of the labour market for the youth, the report claims that Active Labour Market Policies implemented in several Western countries are not sufficient for Turkey due to the high informal activity and low level of education.

3.1.3. Labour Market in South-eastern Anatolia:

The labour market in South-eastern Anatolia is in a big transition for the last few decades. Until recently, the biggest sector in the region was agriculture which was not developed in terms of modern agricultural technologies (Yıldız 2008). However, with the mass migration from villages to urban centres, former agricultural workers most of whom were unpaid family workers became unskilled job seekers in the cities. By the end

of 2009, the unemployment rate in the region has reached its highest level (17.4 %) since 1988 when the employment statistics started to be collected regularly.

One of the most distinctive characteristics of the labour market in the region is low labour force participation rates (LFPR). LFPR in the region is 36.6 % which is the lowest among 12 regions in Turkey. There are mainly two reasons for this. First one is that the people lost their beliefs of finding a job since there are very limited job opportunities. When the population that is not in the labour force is analyzed, it is seen that there are 202 thousand discouraged unemployed in the region (26.7 % of all the discouraged unemployed in Turkey).

Second reason is the low LFPR of women. Low schooling rates and the cultural obstacles in front of women prevent them from entering into the labour market in the region (Tatlıdil 1994 in Yıldız 2008). According to the traditional roles attached to women, they are expected to stay at home as house women and working outside is not accepted by the families and the social environment. Moreover, even if they insist on working, women cannot participate in the formal labour force in the cities and they can only head for the informal sector where most of the jobs are temporary, insecure and irregular (Yıldız 2008).

Another characteristic of the labour market in the region is the co-existence of qualified labour force deficit and unskilled labour surplus especially in urban areas. The lack of adequate level of education for the technological developments in the job market is one of the major reasons for unemployment (Yıldız 2008).

The above mentioned summary draws a general picture of the labour market structure and of the reasons of low labour force participation rates in South-eastern Anatolia. The next section tries to analyze the data in hand to test the generalizations made in the previous section for the youth who live in the region.

3.2. Data Analysis:

As mentioned above the transition from school to work is one of main pillars of transition from youth to adulthood. The level of education plays a crucial role in participation in the labour market. Therefore, it would be useful to have a look at the level of education of the youth in South-eastern Anatolia before the data analysis part.

Turkey has shown a dramatic progress in education in the last decades. First of all, the rate of illiterate people has increased from 53 to 87 between 1970 and 2003 (Hoşgör 2004). A key education reform in 1997 which aimed to increase the basic education from 5 to 8 years has also been implemented and the reform has made remarkable rise in the educational enrolment levels. The gross enrolment rate to primary school increased from 85 to 106.48 percent between 1997 and 2010¹². The literacy rates and enrolment in primary school has also increased in South-eastern Anatolia with the help of the educational reforms and recent social responsibility projects implemented in the region. However, South-eastern Anatolia is still the most disadvantaged region in terms of school attainment. Especially the schooling rates after primary school is low due to the high number of drop-outs after 8 years of compulsory education.

In the sample of GAPYS in which young people between 16-24 years of age are included, it is seen that 6.7 % of the youth in the region are illiterate and more than a quarter of the young people in the region did not even complete elementary school (See Figure 3.1). The figure also shows that more than one fifth of the young people do not continue their education after completing 8 years of compulsory education.

¹² Source: http://www.tuik.gov.tr/VeriBilgi.do?tb_id=14&ust_id=5, accessed on 08.08.2010

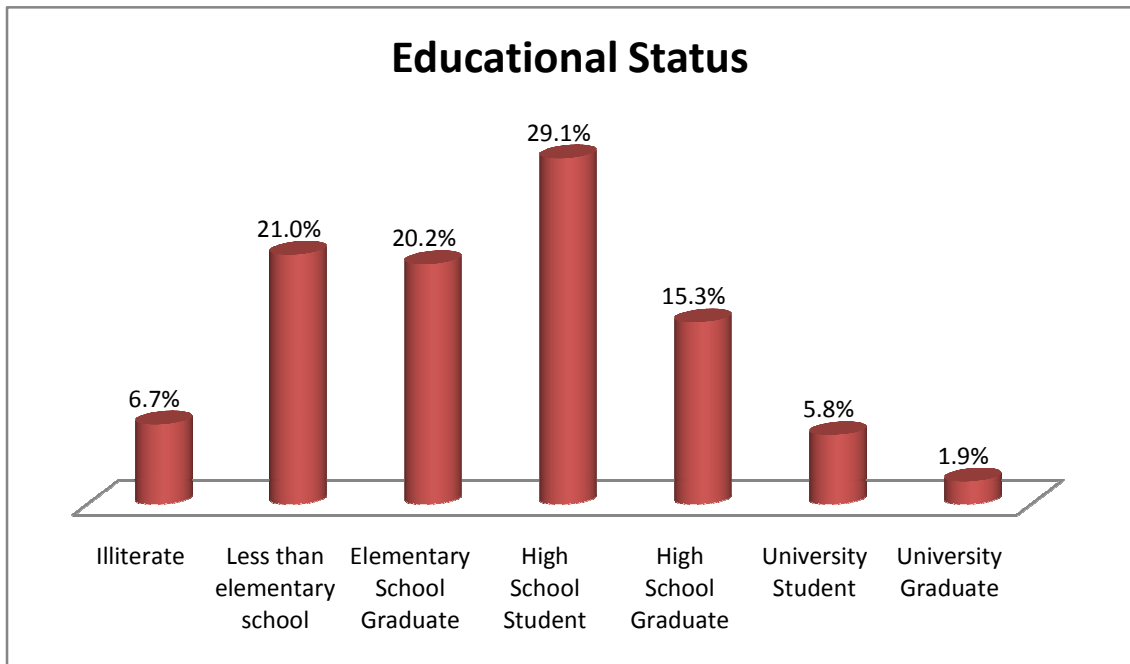


Figure 3.1: Educational Status of the Youth in South-eastern Anatolia

One of the biggest reasons for the high number of drop-outs is the economic problems that the young people and their families experience. It is very hard for families with low income to afford school expenses: from the basic expenses such as purchasing books, a uniform or shoes in primary school to the costs of ‘dershane’ (courses out of school) for high school or university entrance exams in the later stages of schooling. Many young people feel obliged to work due to the economic difficulties they experience. The ones who leave school in order to work are mostly young men. Especially, in the case of death or unemployment of a parent (usually the father), they leave school to work:

“You look at the other. He got everything. He comes to school and studies. You look at yourself. You lack everything. What happens? You don’t study. Let’s work, you say.” 23 years old, male, Gaziantep

As mentioned above, many young people leave school early in the South-eastern Anatolia region. Only 35 % of the youth in South-eastern Anatolia are students¹³. However, this does not mean that all the rest 65 % work. The rate of the young people who have a job is 13 % (See Figure 3.2).

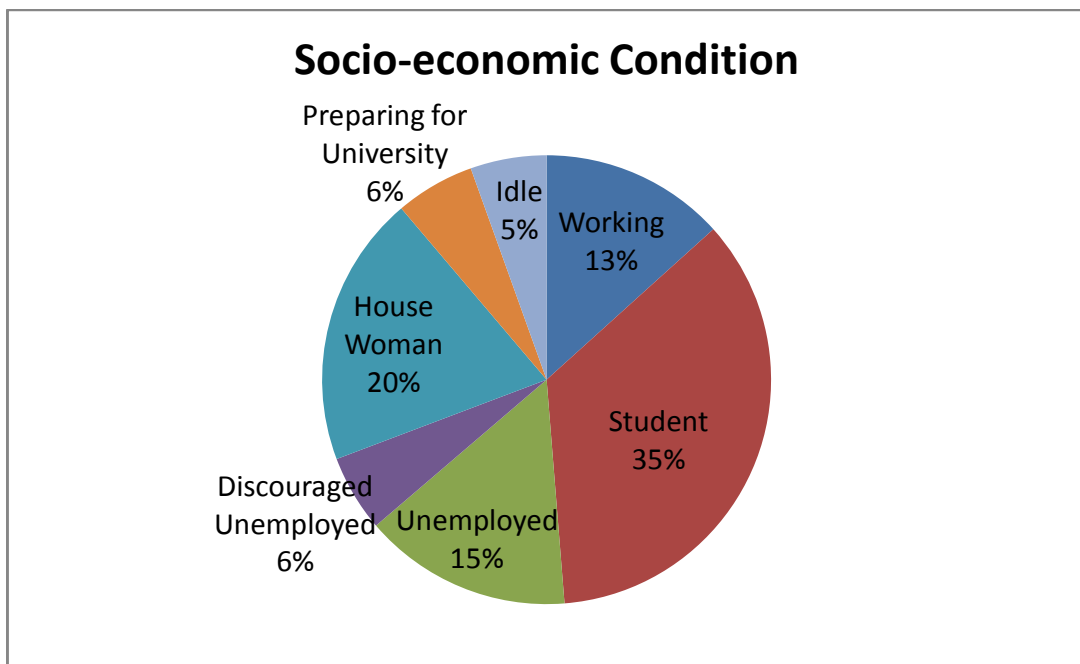


Figure 3.2: Socio-economic condition of the youth in South-eastern Anatolia

The second largest group in terms of socio-economic situation following the students is 'house women' in South-eastern Anatolia. They are the women who left or had never gone to school and who do not work. Some of the women in this group are married, some of them are not. They do not or cannot work due to various reasons. Most of the time, these reasons turn out to be patriarchal and familial pressures. Unmarried women leave school or cannot start working usually because their families do not let them. Some of the married ones can never be employed since they have to take care of their

¹³ The case is similar in Turkey as a whole. It is stated in the NHDR (UNDP 2008) that one third of the young people in Turkey are students while another one third works.

children and do the housework. Female labour force participation level is very low in Turkey (26.0 % by 2009). Nevertheless, this level is much lower for the women in South-eastern Anatolia (9.7 %). Thus, the women who stay at their homes constitute a major group among the youth in South-eastern Anatolia.

The percentage of the young people who are unemployed and actively seeking jobs is 15 in the region. Other than the unemployed young people who seek jobs actively, there are some small groups that do not look for jobs due to various reasons. One of these groups is the 'discouraged unemployed' who do not seek jobs because they have lost their belief about finding one. The other group which does not look for a job since they do not need any job or money is whom I call 'idle' ones. There is another small group specific to Turkey: the ones who 'prepare for university' constituting 6 % of the youth in South-eastern Anatolia.

Since many of the young people in the sample are in their school ages, it is helpful to look at this distribution of the socio-economic condition of the youth in the region according to age groups (See Figure 3.3). It is seen clearly that the number of students decreases sharply for the age group of 20-24 years when compared to the age group of 15-19. However, it does not imply that all the non-students are employed in the former. Although, the number of students decreases by 40 %, there is only a 10 % increase in the number of employed young people who are between 20 and 24 in comparison to the ones in the age group of 15-19. The greatest increase is seen in the percentage of house women by 20 % when the two age groups are compared. It may mean that many young women are unable to enter into the labour market after leaving school. The percentage of unemployed young people is also one and a half times higher for the age group of 20-24 than the figures for the age group of 15-19. There is also an increase in the percentage of the ones preparing for the university. On the other hand, the percentages of the discouraged unemployed and the idle remain the same.

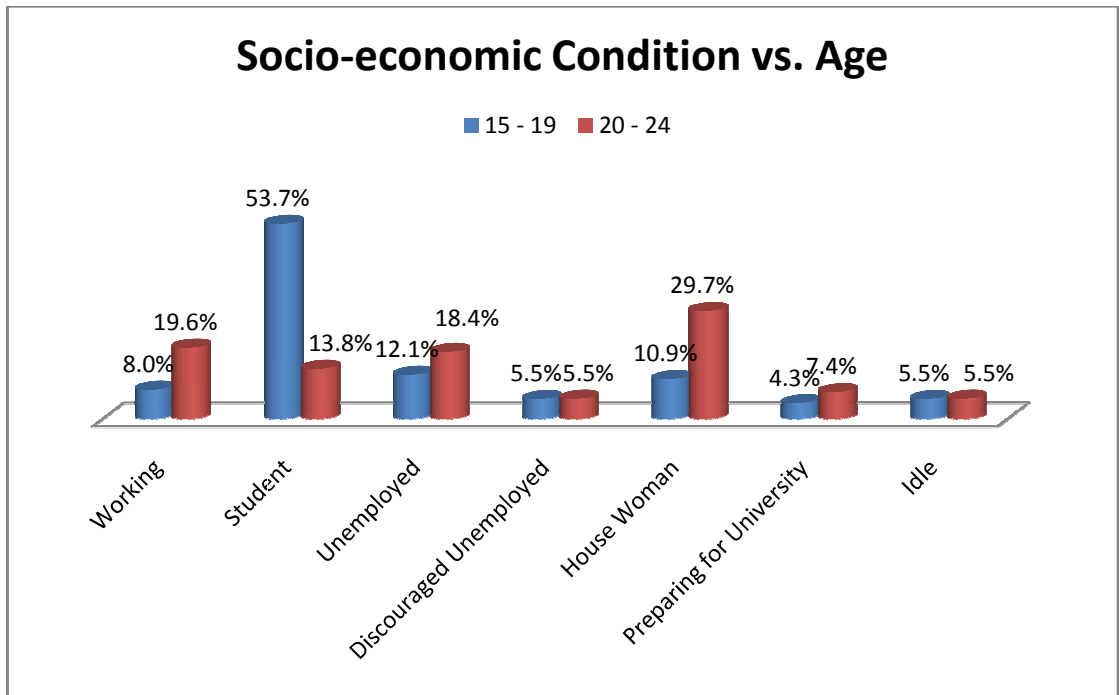


Figure 3.3: Socio-economic condition and age groups

Young people point out the structural reasons (see Figure 3.4) for their unemployment and expect a solution for this problem from the state. They blame not only the state but also private companies and especially the wealthy people from the region for not investing in South-eastern Anatolia.

“Still, new work areas are not opened. Offered conditions are also very bad. If you leave, someone new is replacing. One person does the work of 3 persons, and she/he cannot take a proper wage. They ask if you have a licence in furniture assembling. If you say yes, they also want you to do the carriage. They pay 500 TL for all of these. Working hours are too long. The one in-need of it has to accept these.” 24 years old, male, Şanlıurfa

“Generally rich people of Mardin establish their business in other places. In İstanbul, in İzmir. There are no investments here. There have been a lot of factories in the organized (industry) site, all of them are closed. Furniture, textile have been closed. I don’t know why...If every one of them opens a new work place, there will be no unemployed people.” 24 years old, male, Mardin

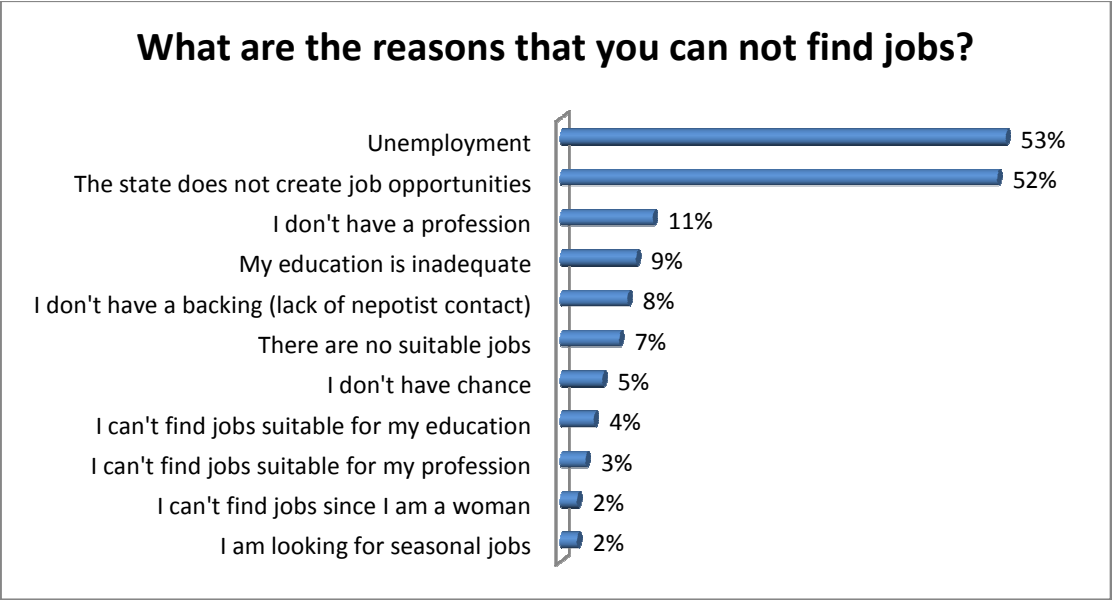


Figure 3.4: Reasons for not being able to find a job

In addition to the high unemployment rates and low number of job opportunities for the youth, the formal mechanisms of employing people in available jobs are seemingly not working well. Quantitative evidence shows that only one fifth of the employed youth got their jobs through formal ways. Getting the job by the help of other people or working as family labour is more frequent (See Figure 3.5). These informal hiring mechanisms make people feel injustice and unfair treatment:

“Feudal structure is dominant here. There is tribalism. Everyone takes the people from their own tribes (to jobs). For example, let’s say I am a tribe leader and I will open a new place. Without looking whether they have knowledge or not I will fill the place with the people from my own tribe.” (21 year old male, Şanlıurfa)

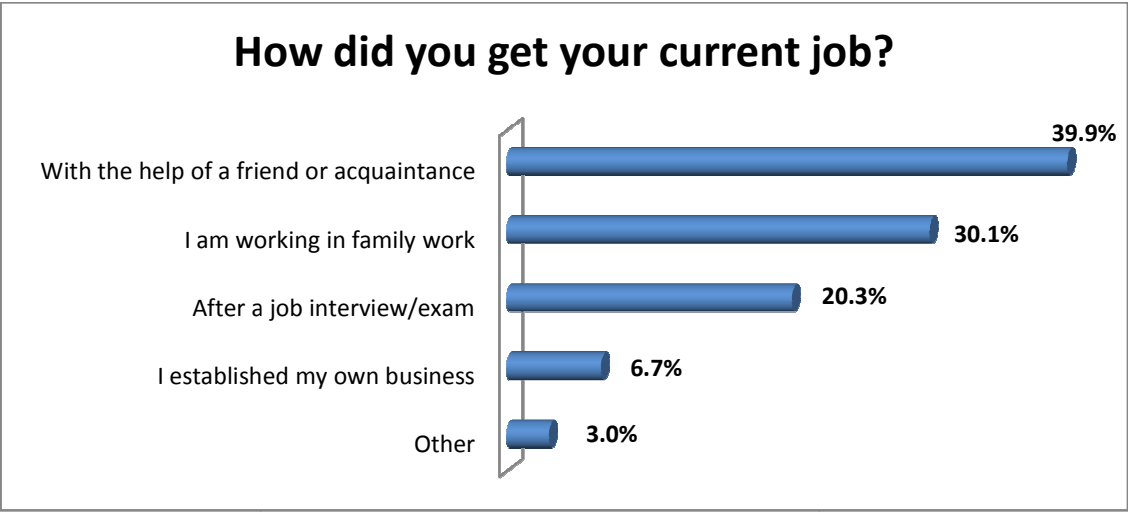


Figure 3.5: Employment mechanisms

3.2.1. Working conditions:

In addition to the low employment rates, the quality of the jobs that young people find is quite mediocre. Three quarters of the employed young people in the region are workers and more than half of them are working as non-qualified workers (See Figure 3.6).

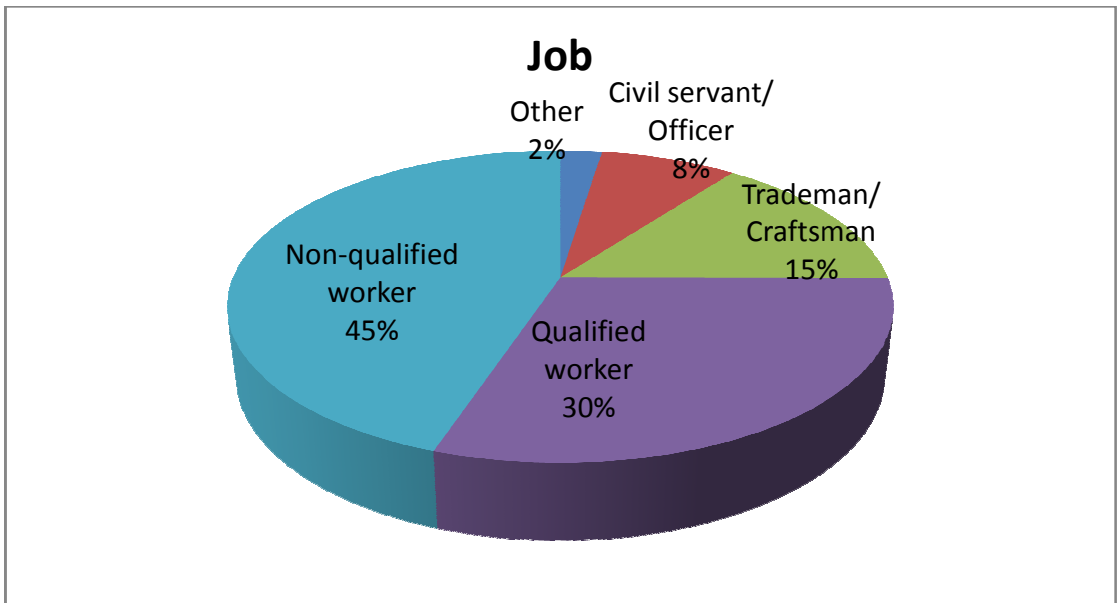


Figure 3.6: Occupational status

Many young people from poor families have to work when going to school or sometimes they have to quit school and find a job before having an education necessary for a more secure and decent job. In these jobs young people have to tackle with long working hours and hard conditions for low wages.

“Now, they don’t give us overtime payments, but only the minimum wage. I don’t know. We’re oppressed. We can’t cry out. I work 6 days of the week, one day is off. If a worker doesn’t come, no day-offs. We work 12 hours. I mean, non-stop. Even a second non-stop” 23 years old, male, Gaziantep

Young people employed in these jobs do not earn much as well. More than half of the working young people in the region said that the money they earn is not enough to make a living. Cutting down the expenses and getting help from families are the two frequent solutions to the hardships in making a living. (See Figure 3.7)

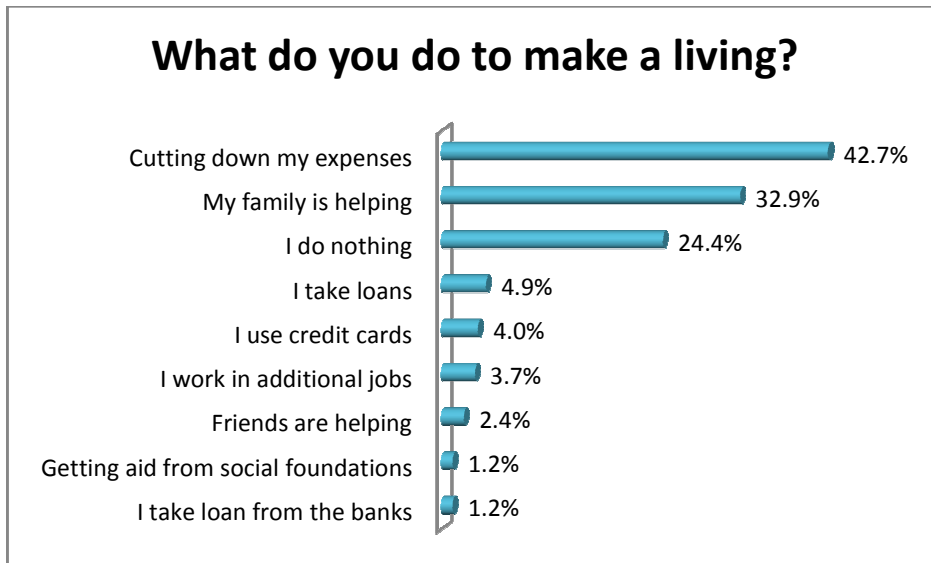


Figure 3.7: Coping strategies of the ones who say that their earnings are not enough to make a living

“Life is hard in what ways? You can do what you want when you have money. We don’t. For example, I’ll have a wedding. I borrowed money. I can do only by borrowing. The person that is going to pay the debt is me. But, paying when you are earning one is different; paying when you are earning five is different.” 23 years old, male, Gaziantep

“As I said, my elder brothers are in Istanbul. They are sending money. Here, we are making our life little by little.” 21 years old, male, Batman

Another indicator of the low quality of the jobs is the low level of social security. Only 16 % of the working young people in South-eastern Anatolia have their own social insurance. 14 % have their securities over their families and 30 % have green cards. What is more striking, 38 % do not have any social security at all. (See Figure 3.8)

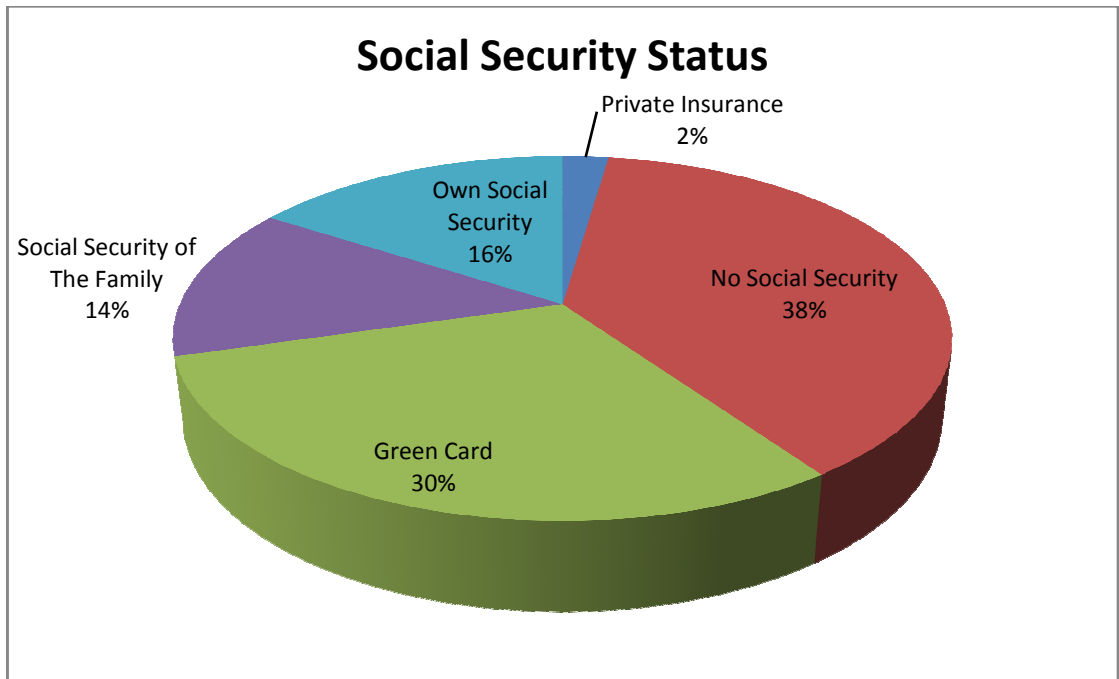


Figure 3.8: Social security status of the working youth

“I went to doctor a few times and had to have an x-ray. He gave few ointments. We paid 150-200 TL. I went two times, I spent 300 million there. If I were insured...Now, my neck hurts, I can’t go. I mean, how much I can earn here in a week, 120-130 TL. After this age, it is hard to go and beg for money from my father. After this time, whatever happens, with God’s help, I won’t beg for money from my father. Because I am a person who has fulfilled his military service. So, I have to be insured.” 22 years old, male, Mardin

“I left school when I was twelve. Then, I started working. I worked without insurance for ten years. I worked ten years, I earned nothing. I couldn’t save anything.” 23 years old, male, Gaziantep

Keeping the jobs they have is also hard for the young people as well. Despite their young age, more than half of the youth in South-Eastern Anatolia stated that they had more than one job. Average number of jobs that a young people have in the region is about 2.5 (See Figure 3.9). This is due to the structure of the labour market in the region. One of the most significant characteristics of the South-eastern Anatolia labour market is

the high rates of informal activity. Inexperienced young people have to work in any available jobs which are mostly temporary. They are hired for short terms in the seasonal jobs without any social security.

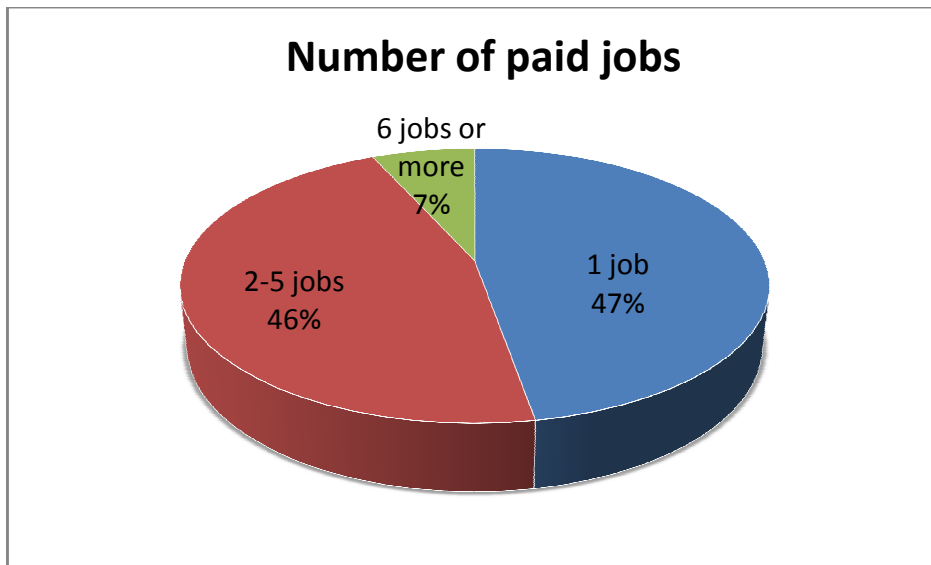


Figure 3.9: Number of paid jobs young people has had during their employment histories

The number of seasonal agricultural workers is also high. Many people, most of whom are children and youngsters, travel to northern and western parts of Turkey during Spring and Summer in order to work in short term agricultural jobs both the living and working conditions of which are very poor. Seasonal migration also affects the education of the young people and children. The students working as seasonal agricultural workers start the educational period few months later and they leave school few months earlier because they migrate to other cities for work. Since the number of these students is high in the cities where seasonal work is widespread like Şanlıurfa, the education stops in some schools when the majority of the students leave:

“Respondent: Since everyone goes to work, there is no lecture in the last three months. Teacher doesn’t make the lecture. When everyone goes to work, teachers have to rest.

Interviewer: For example, you are in the classroom. Don’t they make the lecture?

Respondent: When only two or three students remain, He says “You linger. Don’t make noise.” to them. He draws something himself. In the last two or three months there remain few people and there won’t be education.” 16 years old,

“For now, you can work for 6 months in shoe making, and then you idle about for 6 months. You try to make something in this spare time...in waiting they know that you are going to quit. For example, I have a period, a season of work.” 23 years old, male, Gaziantep

“I started when I was twelve. Most of the time, we were unemployed. 6 months working, 6 months idling around.” 23 years old, male, Gaziantep

Having low quality jobs is due to both scarce job opportunities in the region and the low skills of these young people who quit their education earlier. More than half of the working young men and women say that they started working before the age of 15 (See Figure 3.10). These young people who started working in earlier ages are mostly youngsters from poorer families. Most of them had to quit their education after primary school and start working. Some could not even complete primary school. This makes them less qualified although they gain a work-experience before their peers.

“It has been ten years in this industry. I don’t have any certificate. They can say that this guy has knowledge in this job but there is no document, certificate about that. Someday, if I tell someone that I am an electrician, OK, people see me and know me and understand that I am an artisan but the ones that haven’t seen will ask: where is your document? Where is your certificate?” 22 years old, male, Mardin

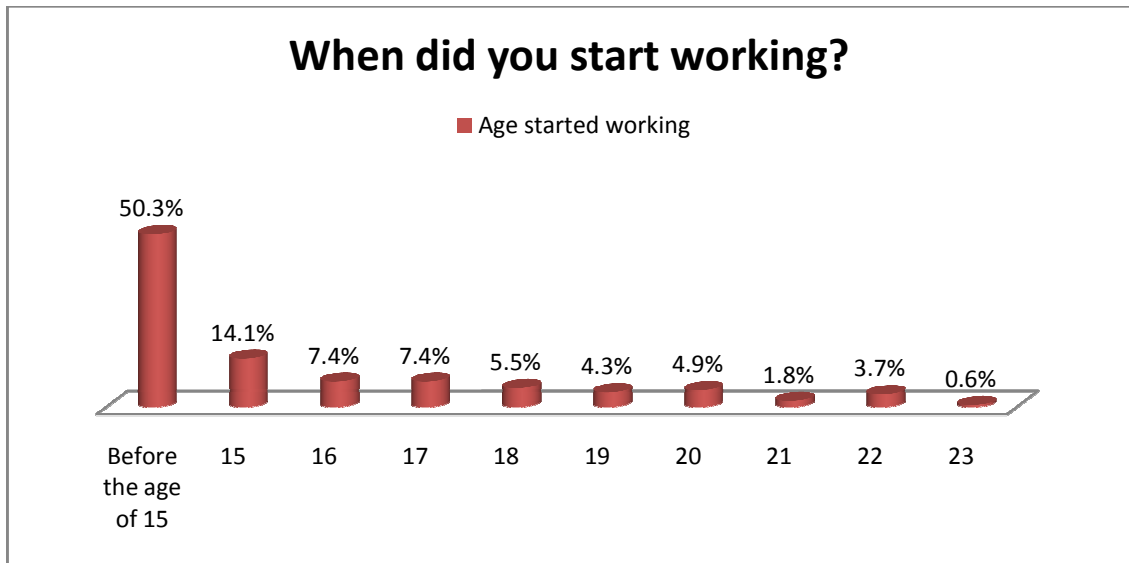


Figure 3.10: Initial working age of the youth in South-eastern Anatolia

The above graph also reveals the fact that there is a high percentage of child labour in the region. The issue is beyond the limits of this study and is not covered in detail but one can find plenty of information about the issue from the recent studies in both the region and the whole country.¹⁴

3.2.2. Gender:

One of the characteristics of the labour market in Turkey is the low female labour force participation rates. According to TURKSTAT, by the end of 2009 female labour force participation rate is 26 % in Turkey. It is much worse in South-eastern Anatolia: less than one out of ten women participate in the labour market in the region (9.7 %). The case is similar for the young women. LFPR of the young women is 25.8 % in Turkey and 11.1 % in the South-eastern Anatolia Region. What makes the issue more serious is

¹⁴ (Gündüz-Hoşgör 2004), (Dikici and Gündüz-Hoşgör 2005), (UNICEF 2006), (Dayıoğlu 2007), (A. Çelik 2010)

the fact that almost half of the employed women are in the agricultural sector and many of them are unpaid family workers (See Figure 3.11).

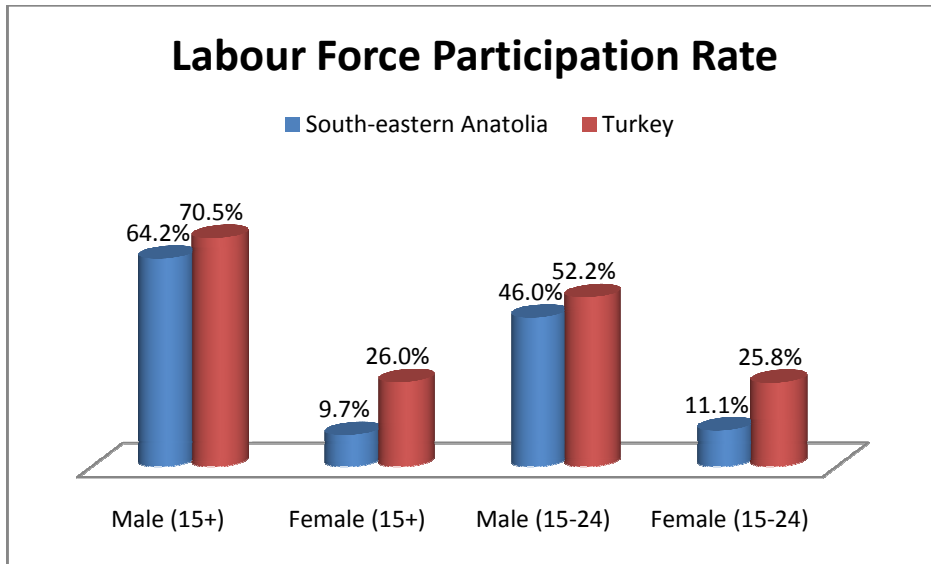


Figure 3.11: Labour force participation rates of youth and adults

Source: Derived from TURKSTAT Labour force statistics, 2009

The quantitative data from GAPYS point similar results. Only 5 % of the young women in South-eastern Anatolia region are employed. However, this does not mean that young women go to school instead of work. The majority are house women (36 %.) (See Figure 3.12)

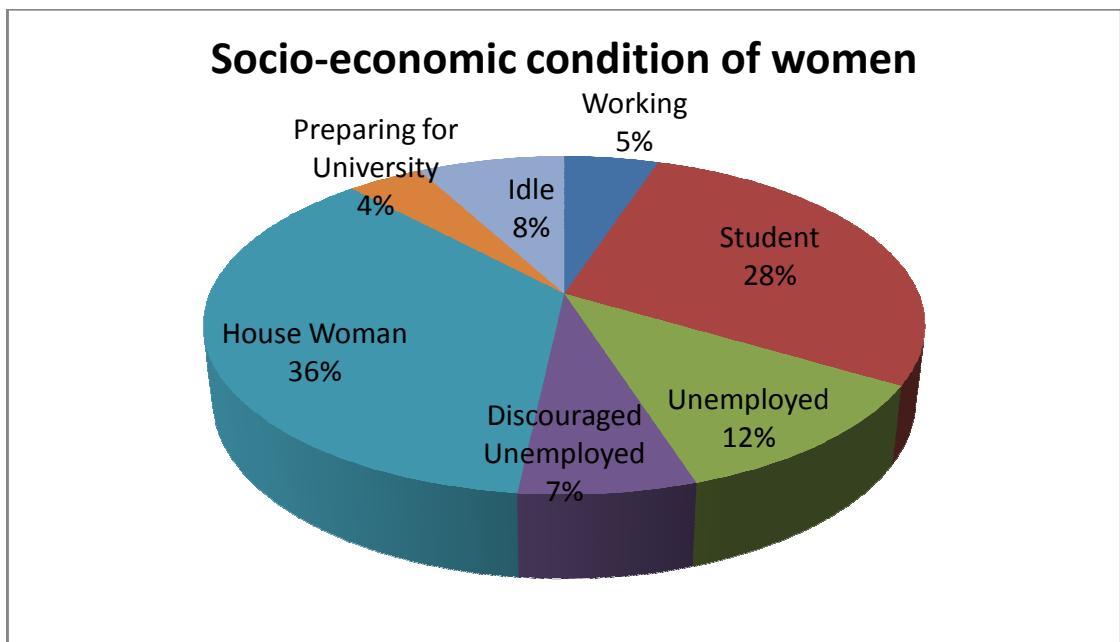


Figure 3.12: Socio-economic condition of young women in South-eastern Anatolia

This low level of participation of women into the labour market is mostly due to the patriarchal social structure in the region. According to their gender roles, many women are expected to leave school early and stay at their homes until marriage. Their situation of being out of education, labour market and even of social life, in other words their being out of out of public sphere, do not change after getting married, either.

“Being young is good only if we can do what we want. I want to study. My father doesn’t let me. I want to establish my own life. I don’t want to beg for money from anyone. My father doesn’t let. I struggled a lot but I couldn’t. Girls do not study, he says. I ask for a reason, “There is no reason, girls do not study” he says.” 15 years old, female, Mardin

“Interviewer: Did your mother have to work during the crisis?

Respondent: No. Since we are from Urfa, women do not work according to our tradition.

Interview: Is that okay for you?

Respondent: Good for me. If our mother was working, we would be wrapped up in. Moreover, who will do the housework? Cooking, cleaning the house? I think this is better” 15 years old, male, Gaziantep

Women’s participation in the labour market is sometimes seen as a reason for the unemployment of men. It is surprising that this claim was put forward from time to time by the young women themselves, too. The hegemonic view that women should stay at home and do the housework and men should be the breadwinner of the family is internalized by many young women. Women are only expected to work in ‘the jobs for women’ if they need to work much.

“I am against working of women. I think, women should not do the jobs that man can do. The high rate of male unemployment is because of women’s employment. The reason why men are unemployed is that women work in every job. Two people in a house shouldn’t work. Women and men shouldn’t work at the same space.” 17 years old, female, Batman

In addition to the norm that women cannot work, the facts that women work in small, informal jobs in hard conditions and that many times they are prone to harassment by men also strengthen the social pressures on them. The working environment and conditions are seen as unsuitable for women by the male members of their families. The men who are informed about the working conditions in the informal sector jobs where women are employed do not let their daughters or wives work in these conditions.

“If, even the married people harass young ones, if they do dirty things to me, I would change of course. And, I told my father. So, my father did not send me to work again. I told everything to my father. If I didn’t tell, something bad might happen to me.” (20 years old, female, Batman)

3.2.2. Family background and education:

Various scholars (Sewell, Haller and Straus 1957; Krauss 1964; Willis 1981; Lareau 1987) proved that family backgrounds affect the educational and occupational situations of the young people and reproduce their state of social class.

Looking at the national data from SYS, it is seen that the percentages of working and unemployed young people in Turkey are higher for families of lower socio-economic statuses while the children of higher socio-economic status families are mostly students. (See Figure 3.13)

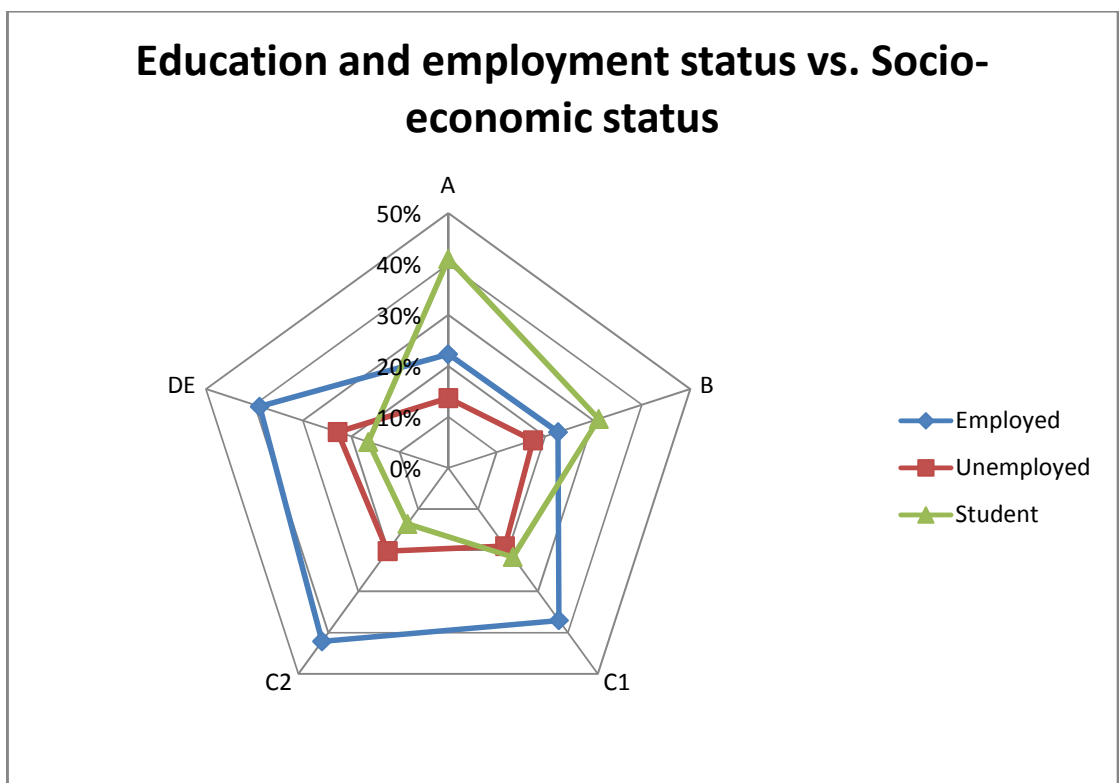


Figure 3.13: The relationship between the socio-economic status and education-employment status of young people in Turkey

The case is the same for South-eastern Anatolia. The relationship between family background and labour market participation can also be caught in our data from the region. It is seen in the Figures below (3.14 and 3.15) that the percentage of less educated (illiterate and less than elementary school) parents are higher for the employed and unemployed (active or discouraged) young people and for house women. On the other hand, higher educated parents (elementary school graduate or higher) have, more frequently, children who are students (enrolled in schools or preparing for university) or who do not need to work or study (See also Appendix Tables 3.1-4).

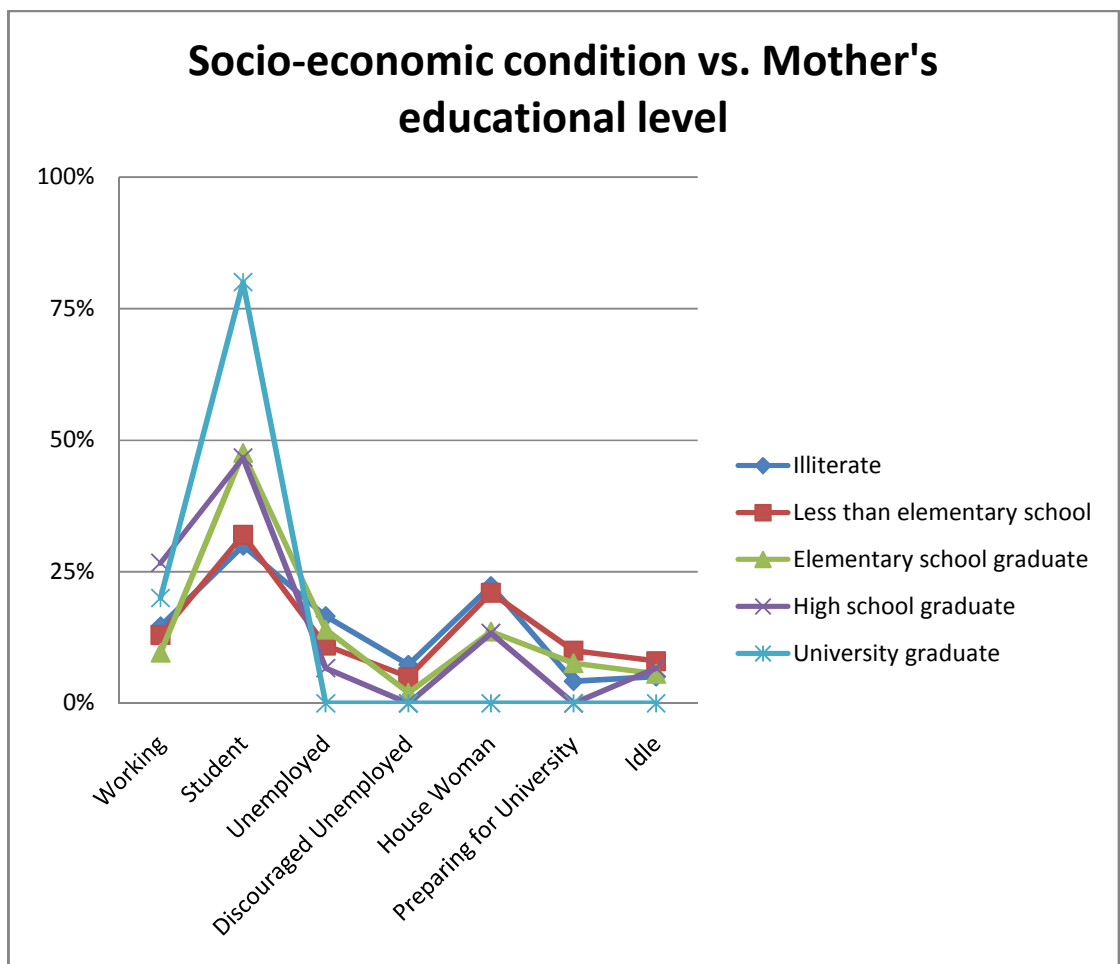


Figure 3.14: Socio-economic condition and Mother's educational level

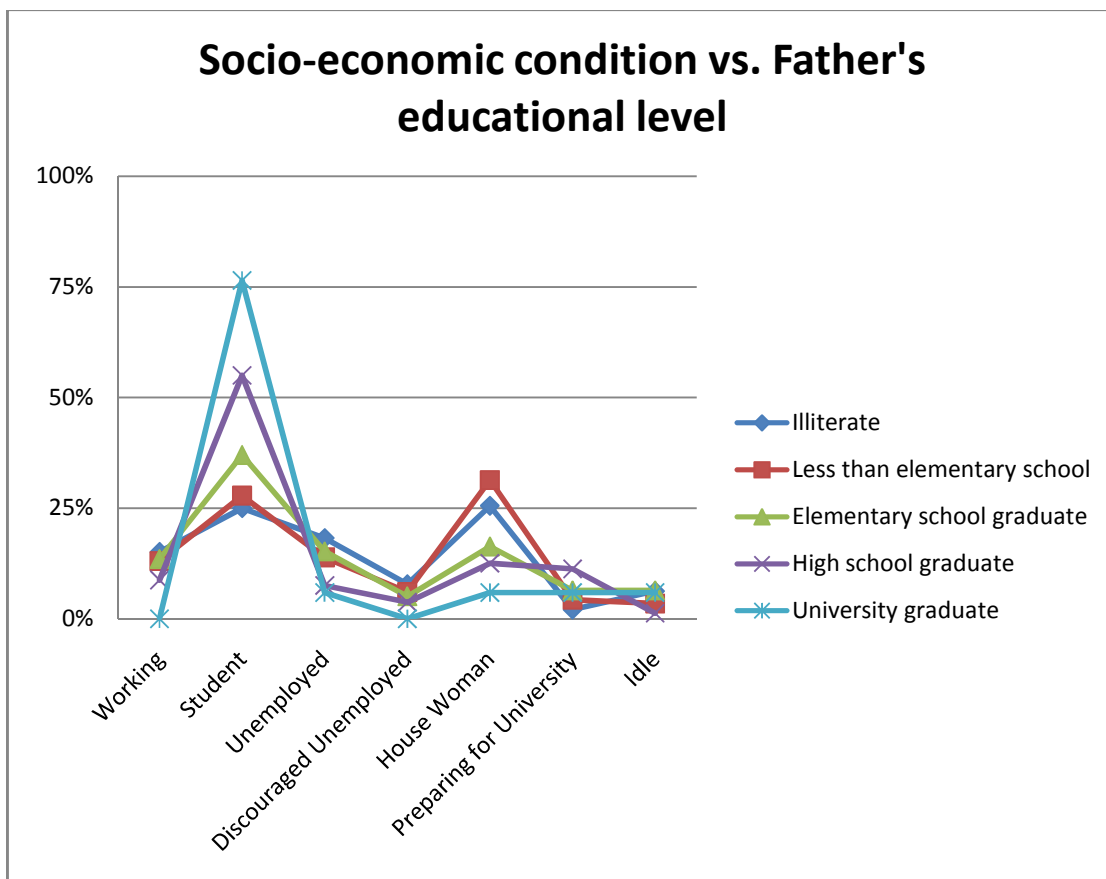


Figure 3.15: Socio-economic condition and Father's education level

Occupational and educational status of young people is also dependent on the occupations of their parents. Figure 3.16 below shows that the percentages of children who work and who are house women are higher for farmers. The number of unemployed children is higher for unqualified workers and unemployed fathers. The numbers of students are higher for officer or qualified worker fathers (See Appendix Tables 3.5-6). The same analysis cannot be calculated for the occupation of mothers, since almost all the mothers in the sample are house women.

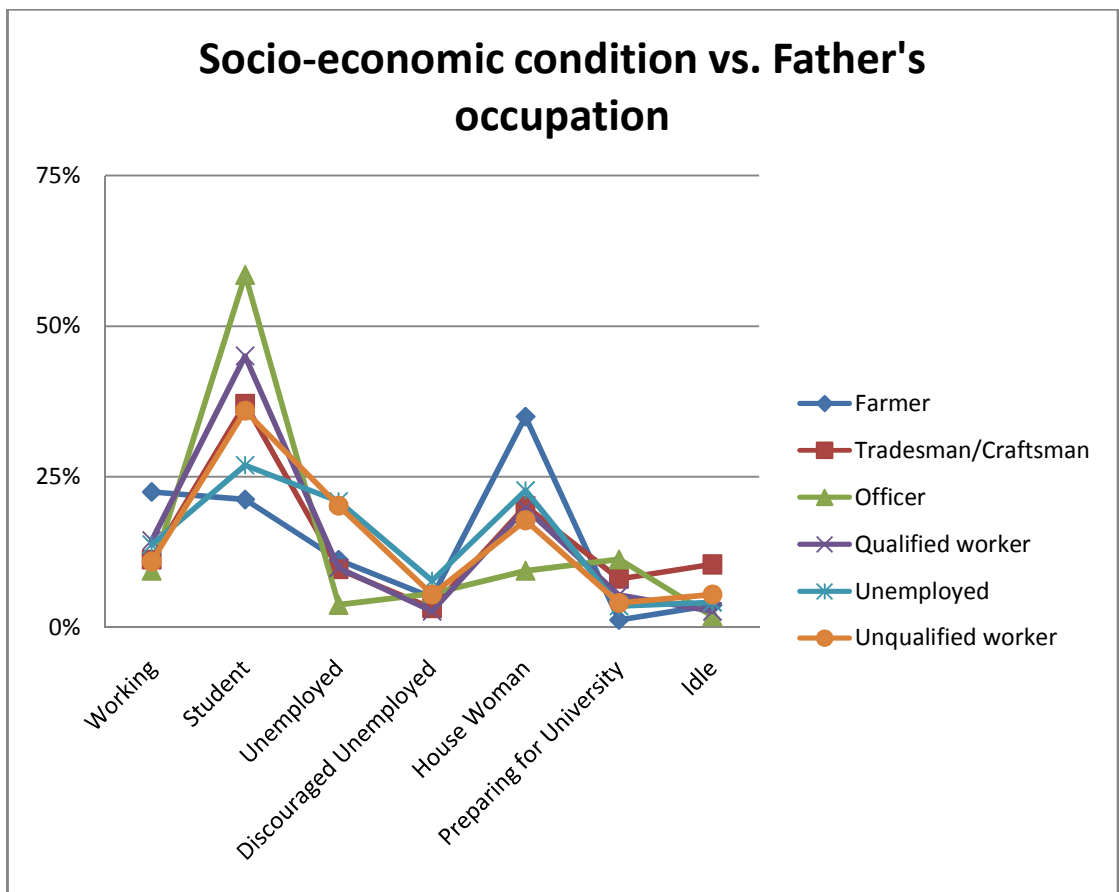


Figure 3.16: Socio-economic condition and Father’s occupation

As mentioned above, the children of poorer families have to quit school earlier and they have to work in earlier ages. Since they leave school without any skills, they are employed in unskilled, low-quality, low-paid, and temporary jobs. This makes an upward social mobility impossible for the young people from working-class families and creates a vicious circle of poverty.

“Here, we have to start contributing to the income of the household as soon as we become adolescents when we start becoming young. At least, in order to cover our own expenses. Not everyone’s family has the luxury to tell their children “son, you have to study, we want nothing apart from that”. 20 per cent

can say this. The rest 80 per cent cannot. Of course, they want but they cannot.”
24 years old, male, Gaziantep

3.3. Conclusion:

Labour market participation of the youth has high importance due to its role both on transition into adulthood and on the overall social participation. Young people are aware of this importance and they emphasise the value given to the employed young people by the society.

However, the level and the conditions of employment in South-eastern Anatolia for the youth are not satisfying. First of all, unemployment rates are extremely high in the region where employment opportunities are also very limited. Most of the available jobs in the market are low quality and low paid jobs, majority of which are temporary or seasonal. This brings forth very limited social security coverage for the youth in the region.

Furthermore, labour market participation levels of the youth in South-Eastern Anatolia differ in terms of various sociological variables such as gender and family background. Women are almost totally excluded from the labour market. The young women who leave school become house girls/house women staying at home, doing housework, helping their mothers, and taking care of their siblings or their children. Family background is another significant determinant of lower levels of youth labour market participation. The children of the families from lower social classes are disadvantaged in this sense. They have to start working before acquiring necessary skills for their jobs. They leave school early and work in insecure, low quality, low paid and temporary jobs. They lose the chance of getting better jobs than their parents.

Labour market participation of the youth, with its high importance but low levels, is one of the most serious social problems in the region. The solution(s) of the problem will help to improve not only the economic but also the social structure in the region. It is important to realize that increasing the number of jobs and employment opportunities is not enough. The conditions at work should also be improved in the whole region. Besides, any policy attempt which aims to incorporate young people into labour market or to help them with the transition from education to work has to consider the social determinants of labour market participation such as gender and family background.

CHAPTER 4

PARTICIPATION IN SOCIAL LIFE

Using spare time and developing relations with peers and other adults are found to be playing integral role in the individual development of the youth, in the development of their communities (United Nations 2005) and in the future participation practices of them when they become adults (Burkhead 1972 in Kılbaş 1995).

However, recent works on the youth in Turkey state that young people do not participate enough in social life due to the lack of certain opportunities (Konrad Adenauer Foundation 1999; Köknel 2001; Çarkoğlu 2007; YADA 2008). Similarly, depending on the quantitative and qualitative evidence in our research it is possible to argue that young people in South-eastern Anatolia participate less in social life than their counterparts in the rest of Turkey. Looking at the data, it is seen that the youth in the South-eastern Anatolia has serious problems with social participation. Most of the young people in the region live in closed communities, interacting only with their family or relatives and a limited number of friends. They do not go out much. They do not use the information media frequently. The most often used media is television. Therefore, it is proper to say that in the South-eastern Anatolia young people's social life is restricted to the private sphere and mostly centred on television. Nevertheless, it would be misleading to claim that this situation of the social life is the choice of these young people. The main reason for the low levels/lack of social life participation of the youth is the existence of too limited opportunities for them.

In this chapter, after giving a short summary of the works concerned about the social life participation of the youth both in the world and in Turkey, I try to reveal the participation of the youth in social life in the public sphere in South-eastern Anatolia.

4.1. Literature on the social life participation of the youth:

Participation in social life is seen as a key element in the social and psychological development of a young individual. Engstrom (1979) states that friends, schools, other adults and mass media play an increasingly influential role in the development of the young people and the individual develops norms and values through the interaction with other people. Moreover, Hendry et al. (1996) argued that peer and parental relations and casual and commercial leisure are important elements of the youth transitions into adulthood. It has been emphasized in the World Youth Report of United Nations (2005) that participation in social life by leisure activities and by the relationships with other people is significant in creating opportunities for self-agency, identity development and the development of social competence. According to the report, participation in social life and in leisure time activities can facilitate social inclusion, access to opportunities and overall development of young people.

On the other hand, various research findings prove that participation in social life differs among the youth according to age, gender, income, education, social class or cultural background (Roberts 1981; Hendry 1983; Hendry et al. 1996; Larson and Verma 1999). For example it is stated in the 2005 World Youth Report that in developing countries, young men tend to have significantly more leisure time than young women do, as the latter spend more time in household labour than do their male counterparts. Moreover, participation in social life increases as the socio-economic status improves (United Nations 2005). It is also found out by some researchers that participation in leisure time activities differ according to (perceived) family environment (Hendry, Shucksmith, et al. 1996; Garton, Harvey and Price 2004)

Research studies about social life participation of the youth in Turkey focus on the leisure time activities (Abadan 1961; Kılbaş 1995; Konrad Adenauer Foundation 1999; YADA 2008). Recent research studies by Konrad Adenauer Foundation and YADA

analyzed the relationship between young people's leisure time activities and their social characteristics. The 'State of the Youth' (YADA 2008) survey argues that young people in Turkey do not involve in sports regularly, do not strive for improving their hobbies and also do not strive for improving their mental and physical capacities.

It is found out in the 'Turkish Youth 98' research (Konrad Adenauer Foundation 1999) that leisure time activities of the youth vary according to gender and socio-economic status. For instance, young women tend to involve in reading and doing handwork while young men do sports, spend time using computer and internet, and go to pubs and discos. The 'State of the Youth' survey also stated that young women appear to be less going out for entertainment. They choose shopping malls to meet friends if they go out whereas men choose coffee houses and bars for that purpose.

Both studies revealed that women and young people from lower socio-economic status groups tend to gather at homes and that participation of young people in social and artistic activities outside home is low. In line with this, activities like going to theatres, cinemas, concerts and pubs increase as the socio-economic status of the youth increases. According to the 'Turkish Youth 98' survey, young men and young women who have higher socio-economic status meet their friends at coffee houses, cafes and pubs.

4.2. Data Analysis:

In the limits of the data, I analyze the participation of the youth in South-eastern Anatolia in terms of their activities in a day, their usage of free time and information media in this section.

To begin with, young people in our sample were asked about their activities on a regular day. About 40 % of our respondents said that they help their family in household works. Another similar frequent answer is doing house work with 20 %. Nearly 40 % of the

youth stated that they roam with their friends. Watching TV and listening to music are other frequent answers (See Figure 4.1).

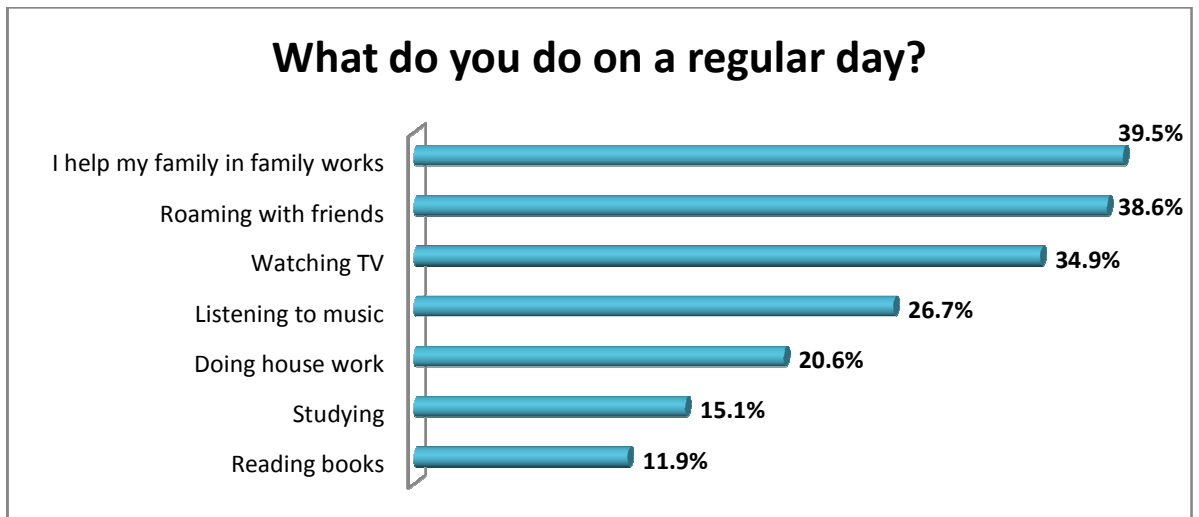


Figure 4.1: Activities on a regular day

“Roaming with friends” is the only socializing activity among the frequent answers to the question of what young people do on a regular day. When this is taken into consideration together with the answers to the questions “Where do you go out for entertainment?” and “Where do you come together with your friends?” this answer becomes somewhat meaningful. About half of the young people in the region told that they do not go out for entertainment. And, the ones who say that they go out hang around in open spaces like parks and gardens. This shows why young people state that they roam with their friends instead of saying that they “go to the cinema with friends” or “go to cafés with friends” (See Figure 4.2). It is important here to underline that this is partly due to economic insufficiencies. Sometimes it is hard for these young people to find the money for a cup of tea or coffee or even the money for public transportation in the city.

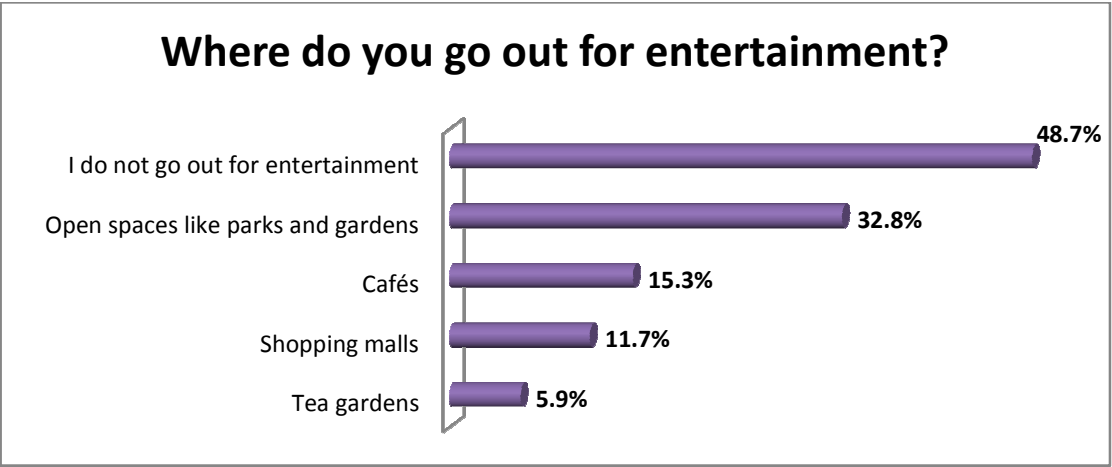


Figure 4.2: Places of entertainment

Entertainment places of the young people differ according to age groups. Although the rate of the ones who do not go out for entertainment does not change significantly with an increase in age, the number of the ones who go to cafés, shopping malls, tea gardens and cinema (instead of open spaces like parks and gardens) increases as age increases. This is also most probably due to the improved economic conditions with the age (See Figure 4.3).

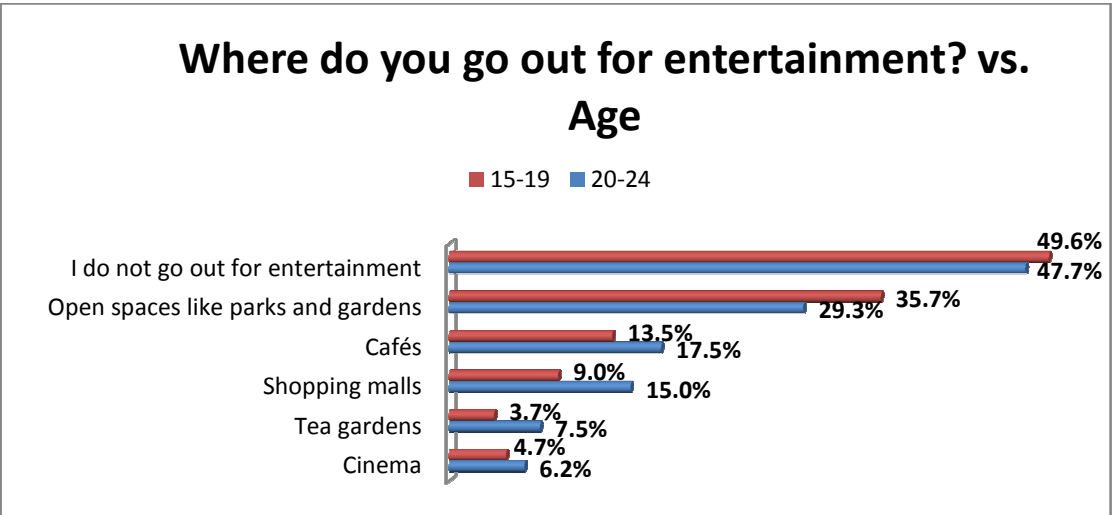


Figure 4.3: Entertainment places according to age groups

Another fact which demonstrates the central role of the private sphere in the lives of the youth is that young people come together mostly at their homes (See Figure 4.4). Since there are limited opportunities of meeting places for young people in addition to the economic restrictions, their homes are the only places for them to gather.

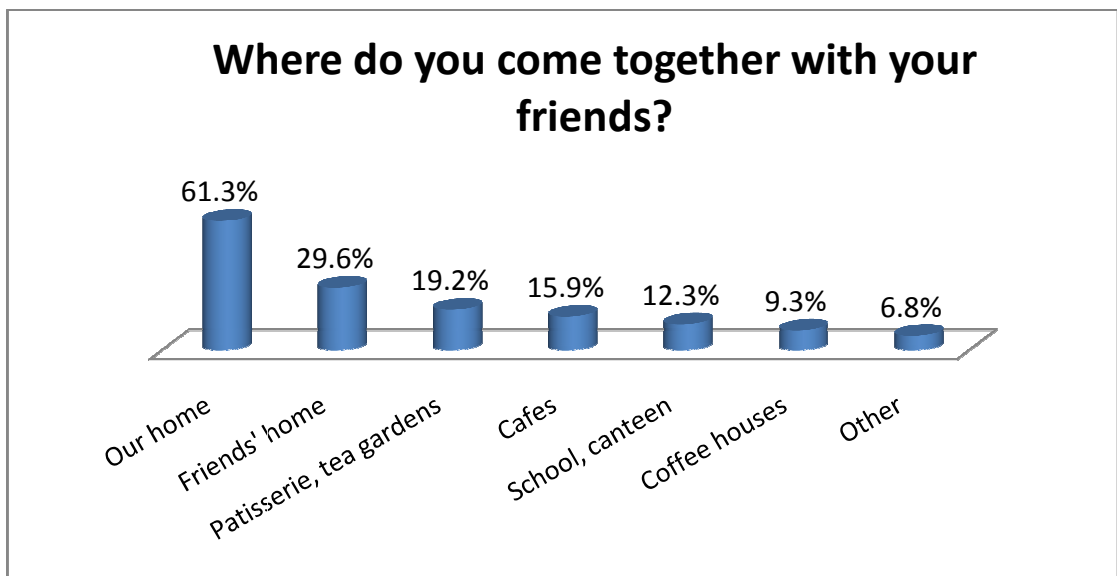


Figure 4.4: Gathering places of young people

After learning where young people go for entertainment and where they meet their friends, they were also asked about what they have a talk on when they meet. The topics young people talk with their friends vary according to their age and social and economic condition. The answers young respondents of the survey gave to the question of what they talk the most with their friends gives a clear picture of this claim when it is cross tabulated with the age groups variable. Young people's experiences of transition from school to work and from their parents' family to their own family seem to determine the topics they talk with their friends. Family problems are the most frequent topic for the age group of 20-24 years. It is also often stated by the younger age group. Considering the fact that social life of the young people is mostly limited with home, the result is not

unexpected. The most popular topic for the group of 15-19 years of age is girlfriends/boyfriends. School life/teachers and football are also more popular for the younger group than the older one. As they grow older, the topics of interest change and young people become more interested in money, sexuality, politics, arts and religion (See Figure 4.5).

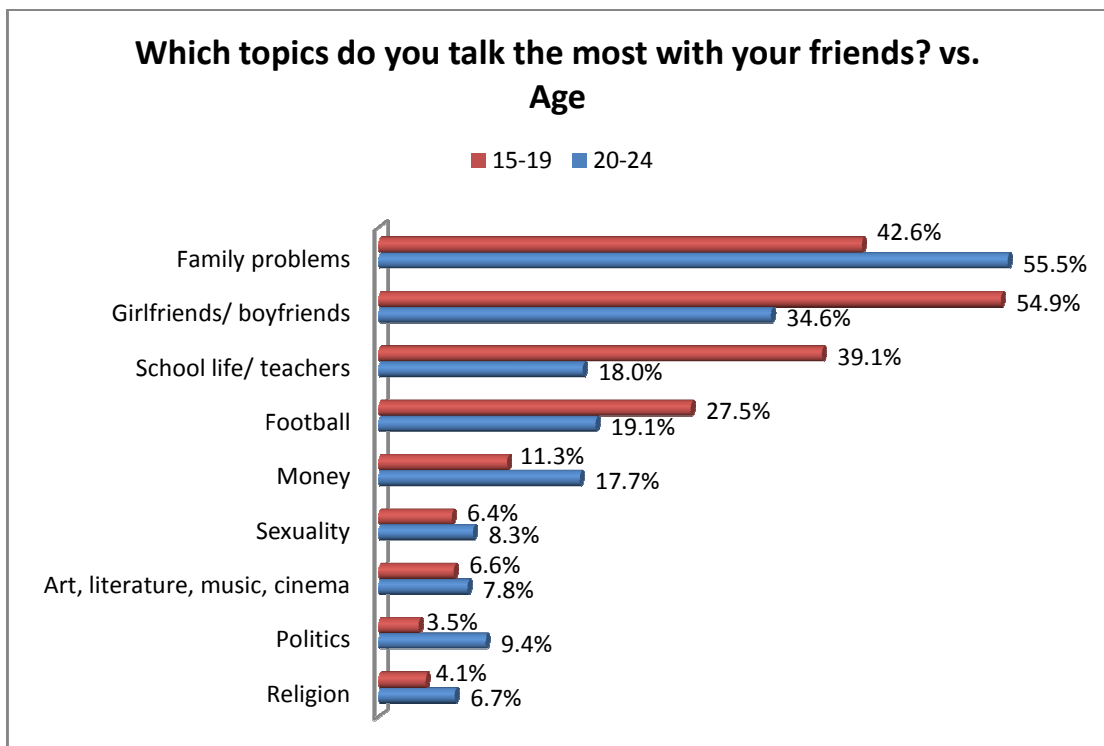


Figure 4.5: The topics that young people talk most frequently with their friends

As we see in the figure above, young people talk about a variety of topics with their friends ranging from family problems to daily issues. We have also seen in the previous figures that almost 40 % of the youth hang out with their friends. These observations point out to the notable place of friends in the lives of the youth. This is also supported by the answers of young people to the question of who understands them the most. The percentage of the ones who think that their friends understand them the most is quite

high. These figures also differ according to age groups. While the answer “my friends” is told by 29.9 % of the age group of 15-19, almost 20 % of the people who are between 20 and 24 mentioned the same category. These high percentages in favour of friends are outnumbered by the category “my mother’ as the most frequent answer given by both age groups. Whereas the percentage of the ones naming their father as the one who understands them the most is only about 5 %. It is also striking that 16.4 % mentioned no one who understands them. The rate is higher for 20-24 year olds. However, as young people get older the answer ‘my wife/my husband’ replaces family members and friends (See Figure 4.6).

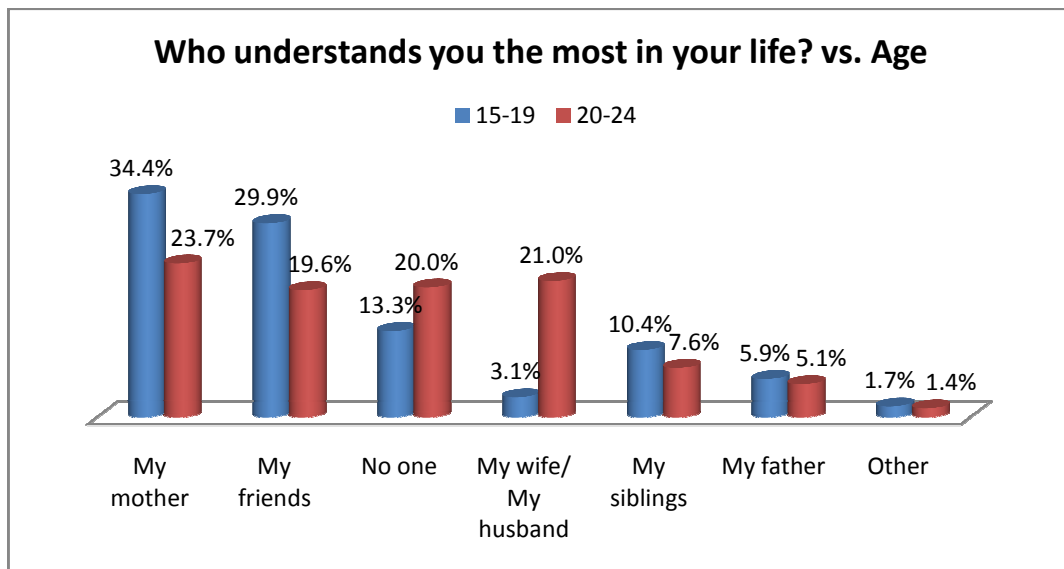


Figure 4.6: The people that understand young people the most

The analyses of various indicators done above indicate that the social life of the South-eastern Anatolian youth is family-centred. Although friends also play a very crucial part in young people’s social life, socialization with them is mainly limited to the private sphere of home. These restrictions are due to various reasons which young people complain about. These are complaints such as social pressures trapping young people in a small area, especially women, and inadequate options in social life:

“I think that the girls here are not lucky. It’s not even in Mardin only. It’s the same in other places. Girls cannot go out. For example, I have a neighbour. She cannot go out without her mother or her father.” (19 years old, female, Mardin)

“...they call here as the Paris of the East but it is a region that the youth are not active, it is an asocial city.” (24 years old, male, Gaziantep)

“It is important in a city to have social activities for the young people. In Mardin and in the South-east there is almost nothing as a social activity.” (21 years old, male, Mardin)

There is also additional quantitative evidence to support this argument. When young people were asked about the restricting elements in their social environments, more than half of them pointed out economic reasons. The city with its limited opportunities and probably with its social pressures comes after economic restrictions. Social community composed of family members, relatives, and the neighbourhood is also restricting young people (See Figure 4.7).

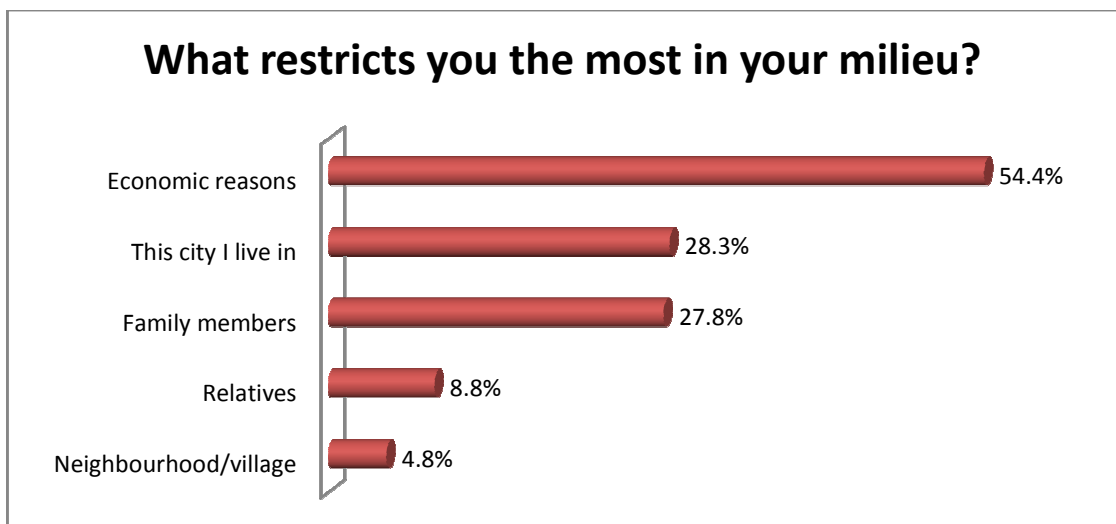


Figure 4.7: Factors restricting the social life

In spite of these restrictions, the youth can still create occasions to participate in social life by using information media. According to some scholars, using the information media, such as newspapers, internet or television, is one of the first steps of entering into social life (Renckstorf, McQuail and Jankowski 1997; Robinson, et al. 2000; Shah, Kwak ve Holbert 2001). However, one must be cautious about this claim for the youth in South-eastern Anatolia because information media usage may also be very restricting in itself by perpetuating young people's home-centred lives. Levels of youth social participation in terms of information media usage are evidently low. In GAPYS, young people were asked if they are reading newspapers regularly. Only 21.5 % responded positively. Similarly, the percentage of young people reading books regularly is 29. Internet as a new media accepted and used especially by young people is an alternative to old media such as newspapers or books. However, according to GAPYS, only 27.8 % of the youth in South-eastern Anatolia use internet regularly. When it is asked to the ones using internet regularly, more than half of them are found out to be connecting to the internet from internet cafes, from their school or workplace. These results show that internet has not become widespread in the region. Only one out of ten young people use internet regularly from their homes. While there are low levels of newspaper and book reading and low usage of internet, for most of the youth television is the most popular media. Almost 90 % of the youth said that they watch television at least one hour on a day (See Figure 4.8).

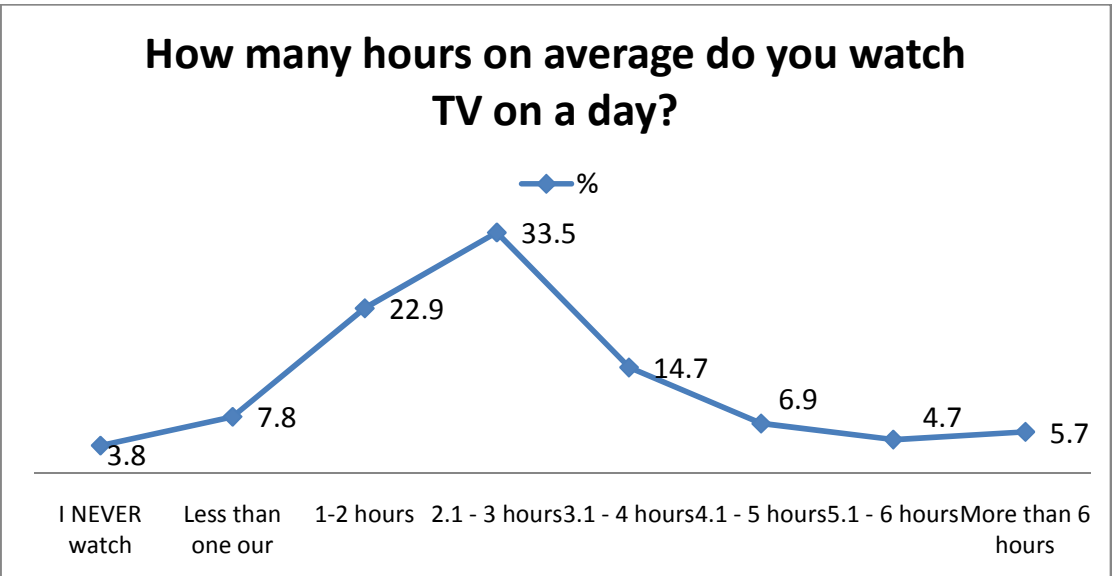


Figure 4.8: Television watching frequency

Since television is the widest media used by the youth, it has a key role in the social life of them. It is also important to know what young people watch for several hours every day.

When they were asked what they watch on TV, the youth mentioned entertainment programs most frequently. It can be claimed that TV is an entertainment media instead of information media for the young people (See Figure 4.9).

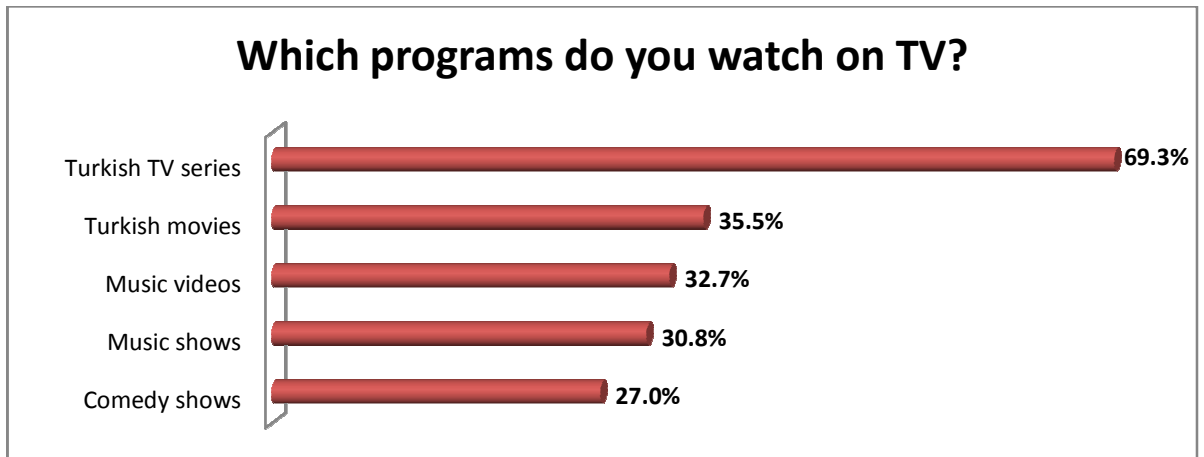


Figure 4.9: Favourite programs on TV

The questions regarding social life participation of the youth analyzed so far in this chapter points out to the centrality of television and infrequency of reading books and newspapers and of internet use in young people’s life. The results of these analyses change when different social groups are compared and they demonstrate that some groups are more disadvantageous than others in terms of participation in social life.

4.2.1. Gender:

Social life participation patterns of the young people differ according to their social positions. Gender is one of the key determinants of participation in social life for the youth in South-eastern Anatolia. Country-wide data sets show that there is a gap between young men and young women. Young women cannot involve in social life throughout the country. However, this gap is even wider in South-eastern Anatolia. When the activities of young women and men on a regular day are considered, it is clearly seen that young women mostly stay at home (See Figures 4.10-4.11). As mentioned above, roaming with friends is the only socializing activity outside the home. However, it is an option primarily for men. Only about one sixth of the young women said that they roam with their friends on a regular day. The rest stay at their homes and

help their family at most. The free time activities of women mentioned most frequently are listening to music and watching TV.

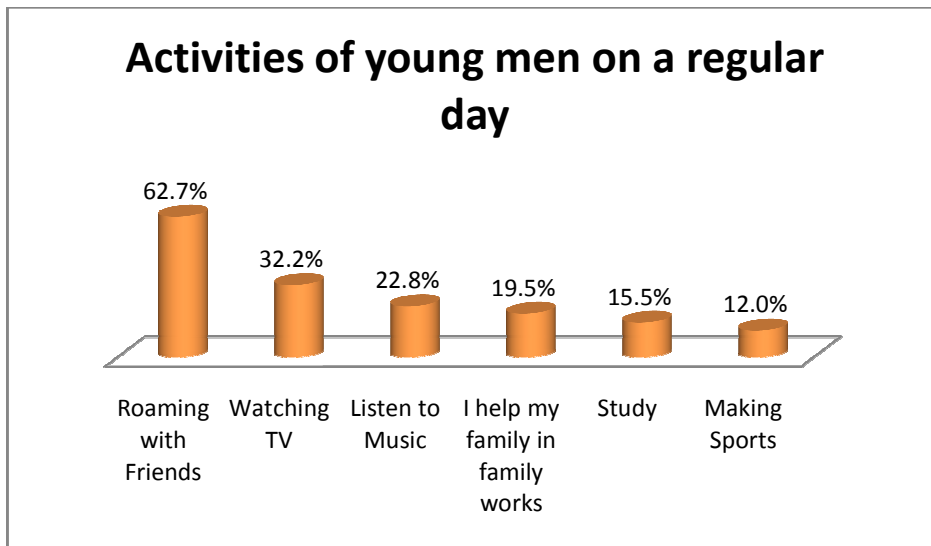


Figure 4.10: Activities of young men on a regular day

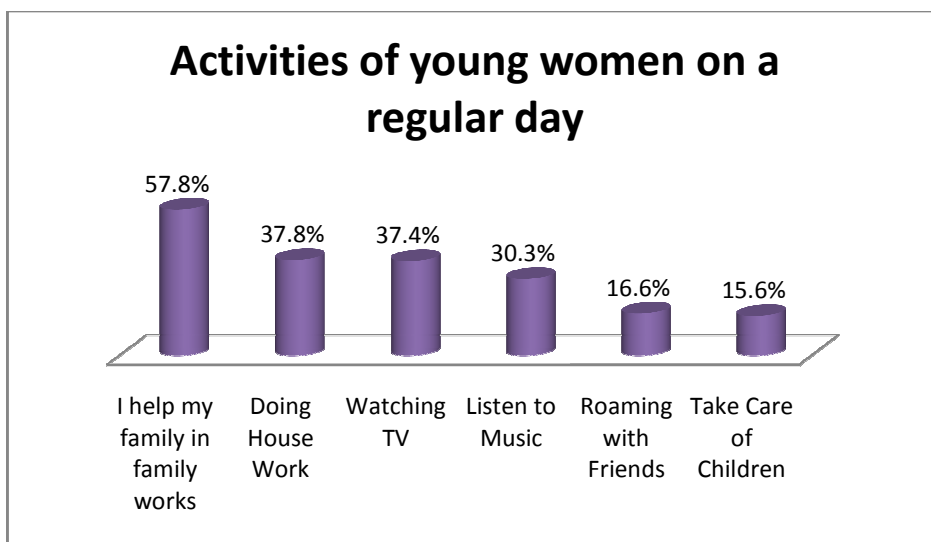


Figure 4.11: Activities of young women on a regular day

The difference between young men and young women in terms of participation in the social life outside home is seen more dramatically when they were asked about where they go out for entertainment. About 70 % of the young women said that they do not go out for entertainment. This is about 27 % for men. Men go out to places like open spaces, parks, tea gardens and cafes (See Figure 4.12). This suggests that young men are more visible in the public sphere for entertainment than young women who try to entertain themselves mostly by television at home.

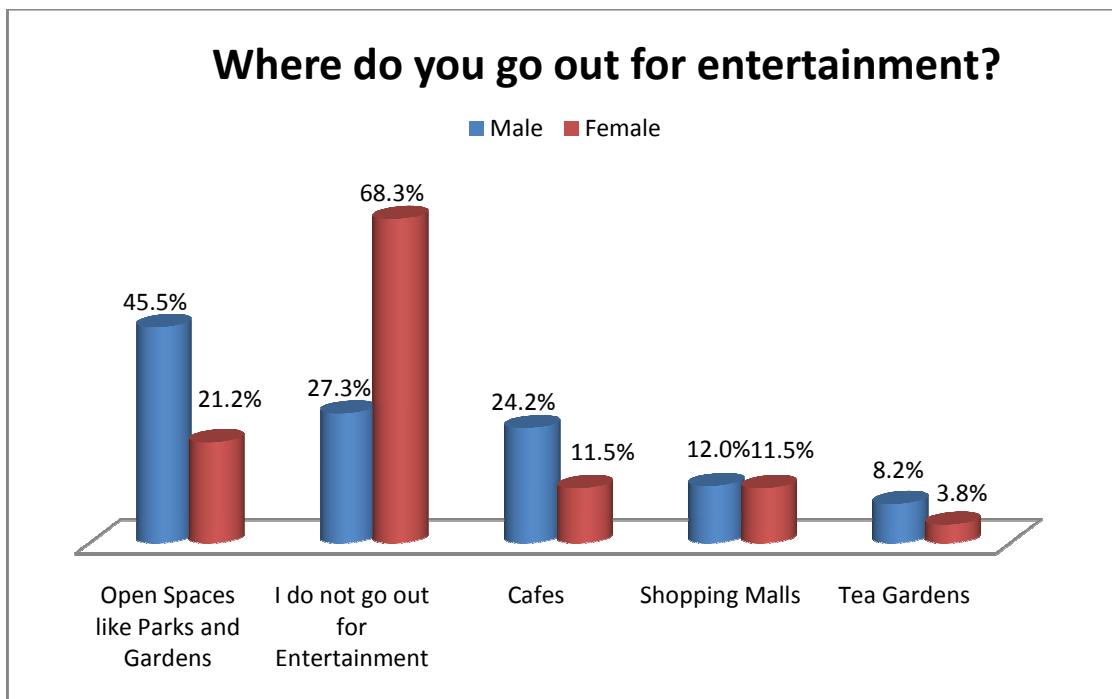


Figure 4.12: Gender and going out for entertainment

It is mentioned above that the lack of opportunities as well as social pressures is a reason for young people for not joining in social life. However, when the factors which restrict the youth in their milieu are considered according to gender, we see that limited options restrict mostly young men. They can go out but they do not have many options other than open spaces or parks. On the other hand, it is mainly the social structure which

prevents young women from participating in social life. There are several examples in our qualitative data about this situation. It is stated many times that young women are not allowed to go out without a family member. As they are not allowed to go out and get together with friends outside, meeting at homes is the only option for young women. Moreover, they have contact with family members, close relatives and a very limited number of friends.

“Girls can go out with their parents. If their parents do not go out with them, girls cannot. Boys also have time limit. For example, I cannot go to home after 11” (19 years old, male, Şanlıurfa)

“Interviewer: Can you go out?

Respondent: Married women can. But young girls cannot. They can, if their brothers are with them. If they go out alone, then the gossip starts.” (20 years old, female, Şanlıurfa)

“I could go to high school now. For example, I contact with no one other than the girls of my uncle. I cannot communicate. Of course, we always talk but it would be good to communicate with other people.” (16 years old, female, Mardin)

Men also say that they gather at their or their friends’ home but it is seen that there are other options outside the home for the young men (See Figure 4.13).

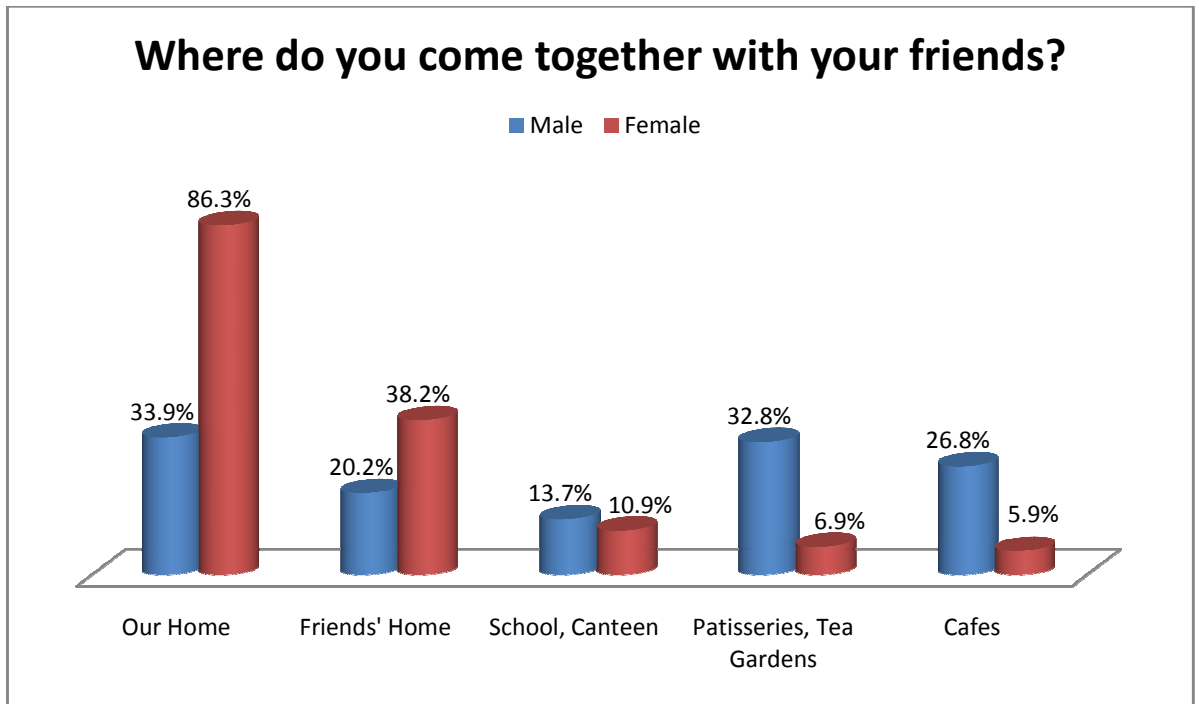


Figure 4.13: Gender and gathering places

The gap between young men and young women can also be seen in terms of access to the internet. Only 12 % of the young women in South-eastern Anatolia said that they use internet regularly, whereas it was 45 % for young men. This is mostly due to the above mentioned status of young women whose social life is limited to the private sphere. Since the internet is still not available in many of the homes in the region, internet cafes are the most accessible options for young people to connect to internet. It can be seen clearly when the answers to the question of where these young people connect to the internet from are taken into consideration. It is seen that women can access to the internet if they have a connection at their homes. On the other hand, young men can use internet cafes (See Figure 4.14).

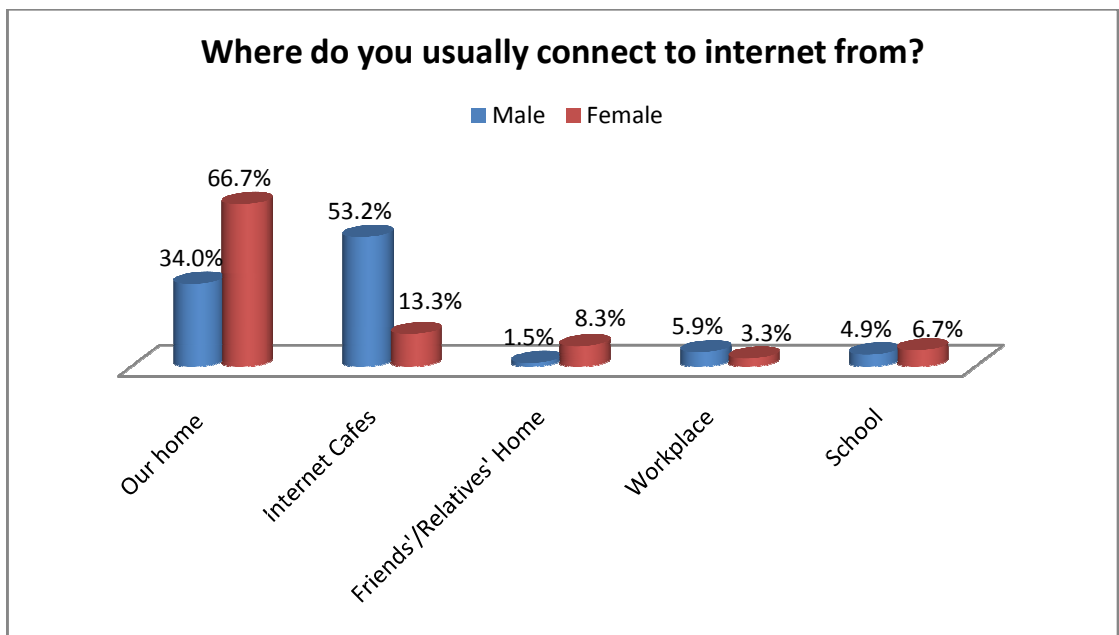


Figure 4.14: Gender and internet connection places

The data analyzed above show differences in the social life participation levels of young women and men. It must, however, be emphasized that the patterns of social life participation are not homogeneous among women. These patterns change according to the marital status of young women.

The social pressure, especially from the parents, is seen as the biggest obstruction in front of the social participation of young women in the social life. However, the social life of young women restricted in the private sphere does not change after marriage. In fact, the level of married women's social life participation drops when compared to the social life participation levels of single women. The pressure from the parents gives its place to the pressure of the husbands on their wives. It is seen in the Figure 4.15 below that more than three quarters of married women do not go out for entertainment and that the percentage of the married ones who go to parks, cafes or cinemas are much lower than the figures for single young women.

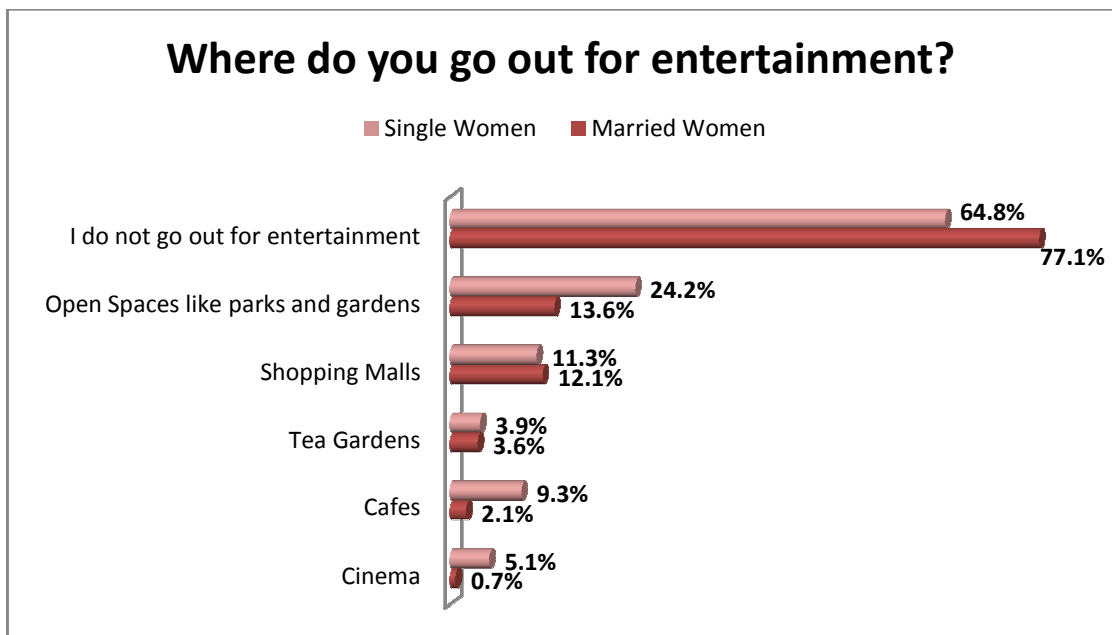


Figure 4.15: Entertainment places for young women according to marital status

Another important sociological variable which points to the differences of social life participation levels among the youth is family background. The next section tries to find out the distinctions between young people in terms of social life participation according to education level of themselves and their parents and income level and occupation status of their parents.

4.2.2. Family background and education:

To begin with a very striking finding, the rates of information media usage are positively related to all of these variables. Looking at the Figure 4.16 below, it can be seen that as the educational level of the young people increases the percentage of newspaper and book reading and internet usage dramatically increase.

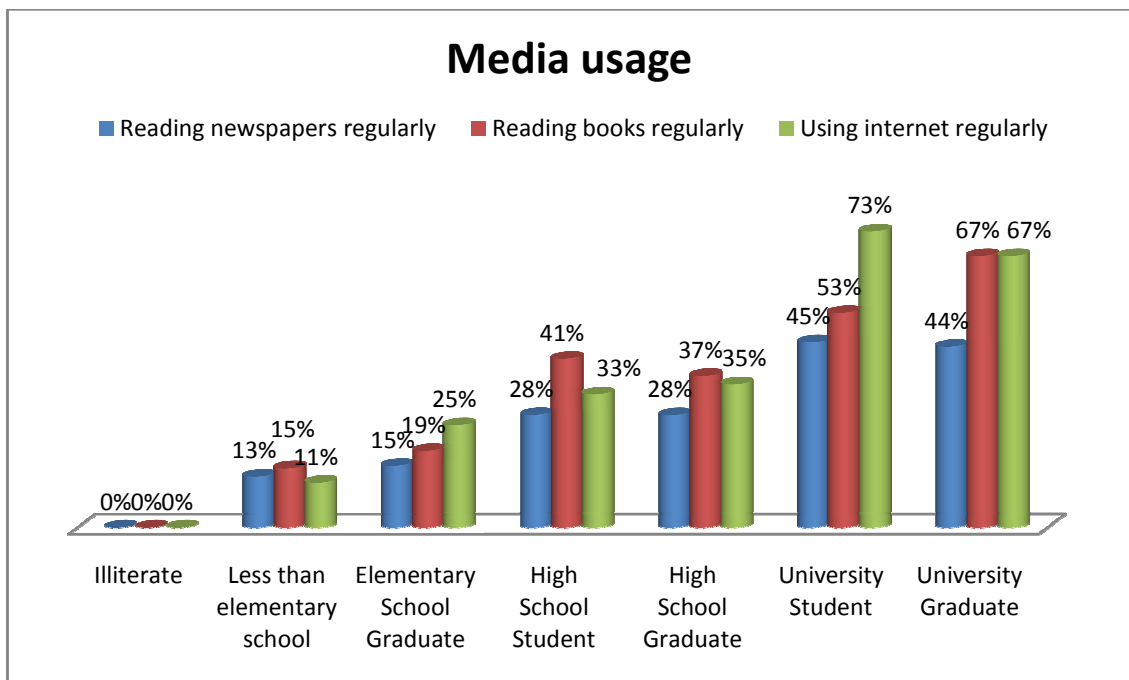


Figure 4.16: Educational level and information media usage

The case is the same for parents' educational level and subjective income levels of the young people (See Appendix Figures 4.1-3 and Tables 4.1-3). The socio-economic condition of the young people is also a significant determinant of information media usage. In Figure 4.17, it can be seen that the young people who continue their education (students and the ones preparing for university) and the young people who participate in the labour market use the information media more than the ones who have not participated in the educational life or working life.

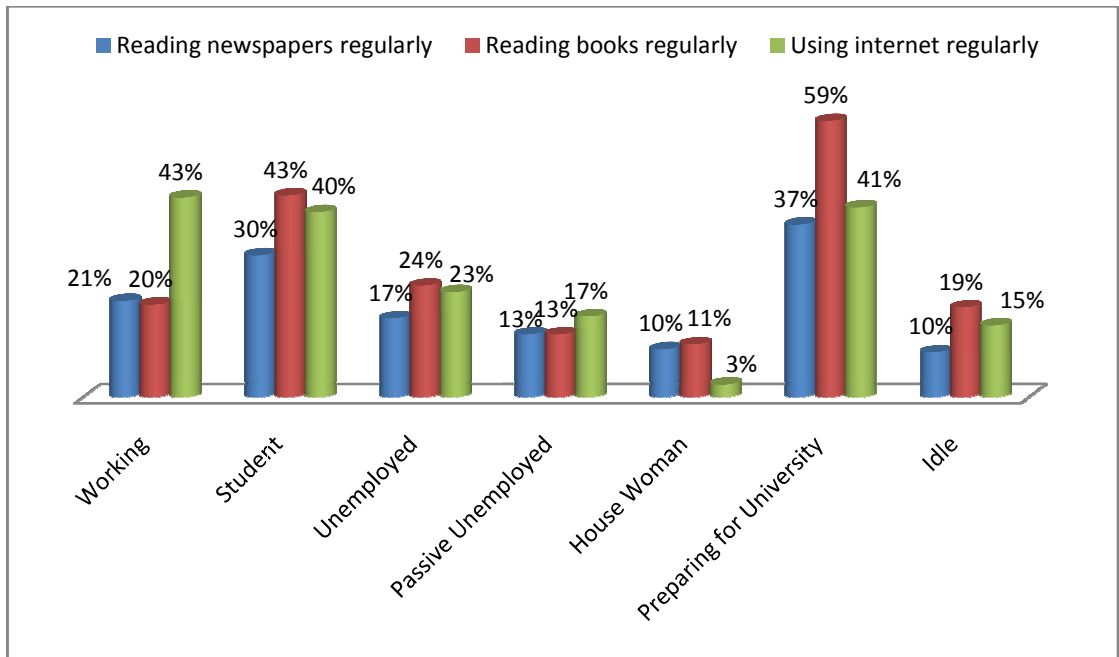


Figure 4.17: Socio-economic condition and information media usage

As mentioned above several times, nearly half of the youth in South-eastern Anatolia said that they do not go out for entertainment. When the distribution of these young people who do not go out is considered, it is seen that the results are parallel to the information media usage. Young people who say that they do not go out for entertainment have lower educational levels (See Figure 4.18). Moreover, their mothers and fathers have also lower educational levels (See Figure 4.19) and their incomes are significantly lower than those of the ones who go out for entertainment (See Appendix Tables 4.4-5).

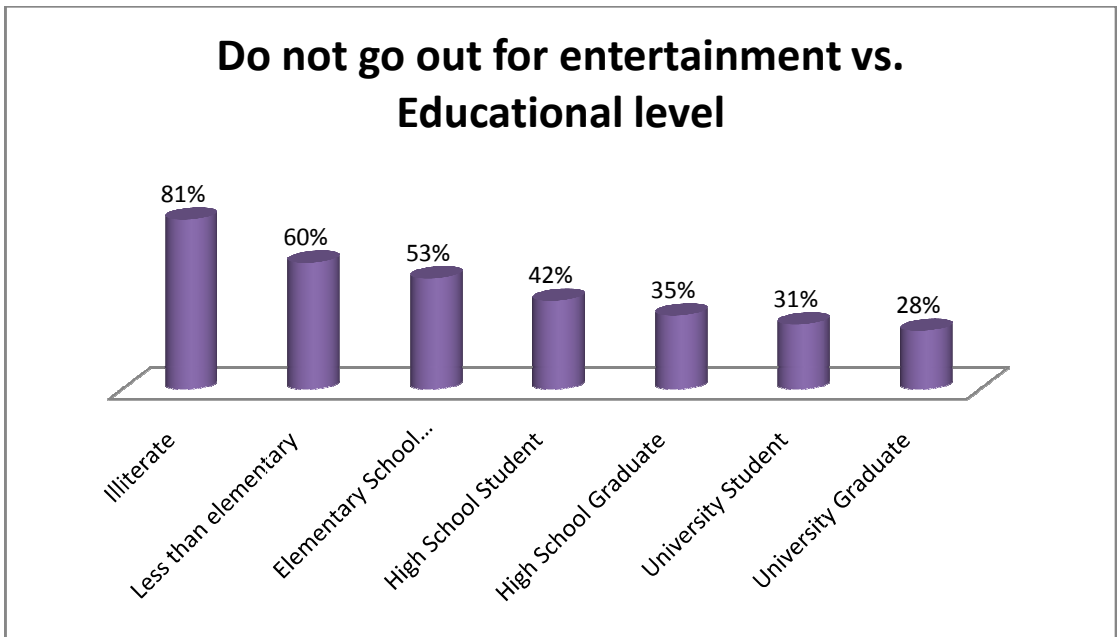


Figure 4.18: Educational level vs. “Where do you go out for entertainment?”

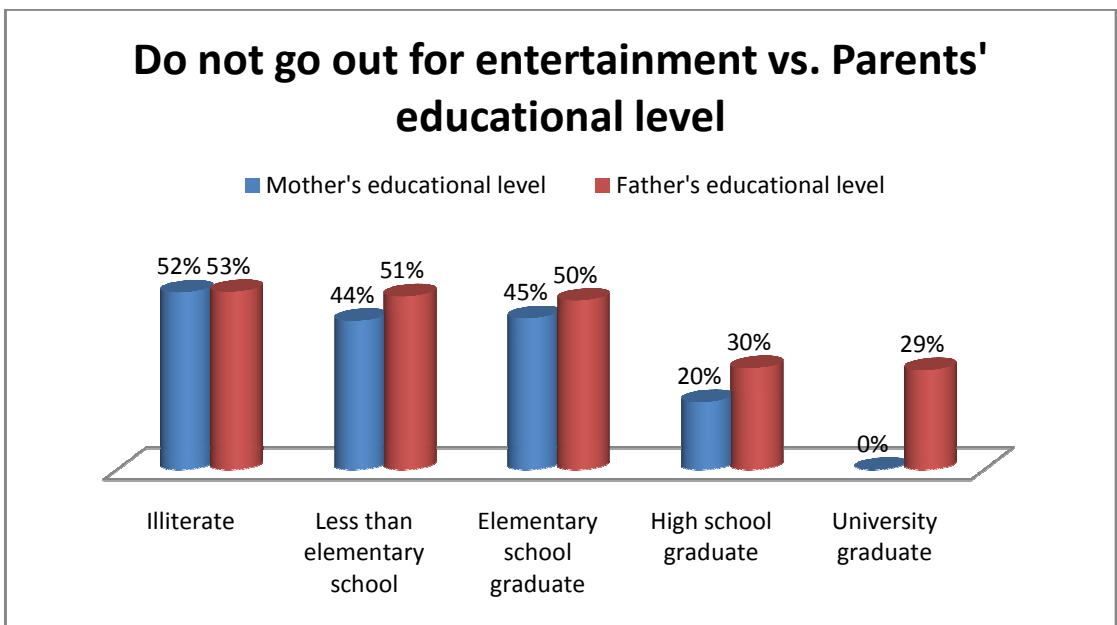


Figure 4.19: Parents' educational level vs. “Where do you go out for entertainment?”

Occupational and educational statuses of the young people are effective on social life participation. The number of the ones who state that they do not go out for entertainment are at most for the two groups namely the ‘house women’ and ‘idle’ and it is the least for the ‘working’ young people (See Figure 4.20). Young people go out more as they participate in education and labour market.

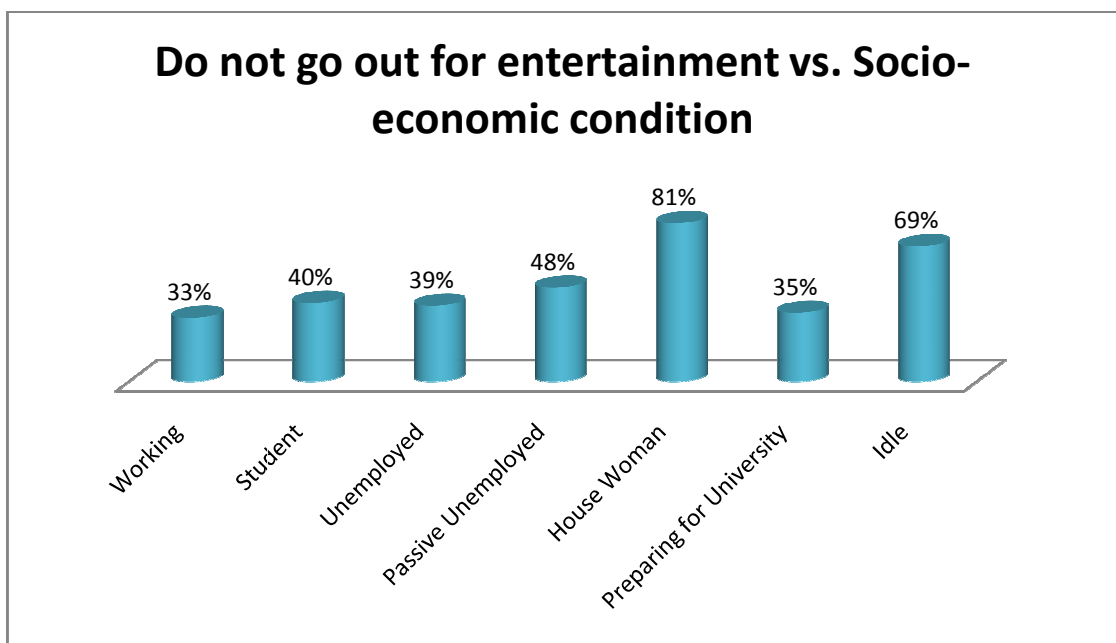


Figure 4.20: Socio-economic condition vs. “Where do you go out for entertainment?”

Briefly, young people who have higher education and income; come from highly educated families and who participate/have participated in the educational and working life participate more in social life. On the other hand, young people from lower income and education groups and who are excluded from educational life and the labour market are also excluded from the social life. Here, it is useful to look at the reasons limiting these two groups, namely lower educational and income level group and higher educational and income level group.

Economic reasons and the city they live in are the mostly stated answers by them and there are significant differences between these two groups' answers. The ones saying that economic reasons are restrictive for social life participation are mainly from lower income and education groups. However, the young people who told that the city they live in is restricting them the most have usually higher income and education or they come from highly educated families. On the other hand, there are not any significant differences between these two socio-economic groups who declare that elements such as the family or community members are the most restrictive factors which prevent them from participating in social life (See Figure 5.21-23 and Appendix Tables 5.6-9).

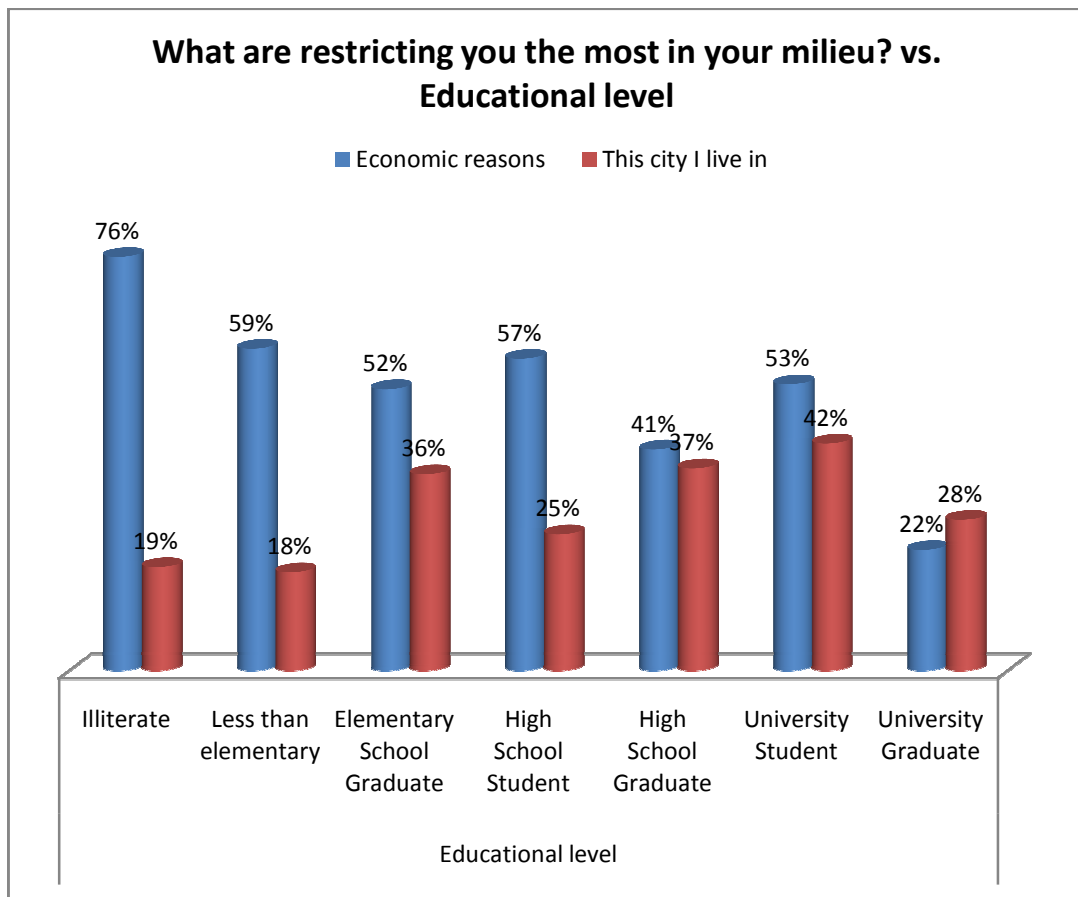


Figure 4.21: Educational level of the youth vs. socially restricting factors

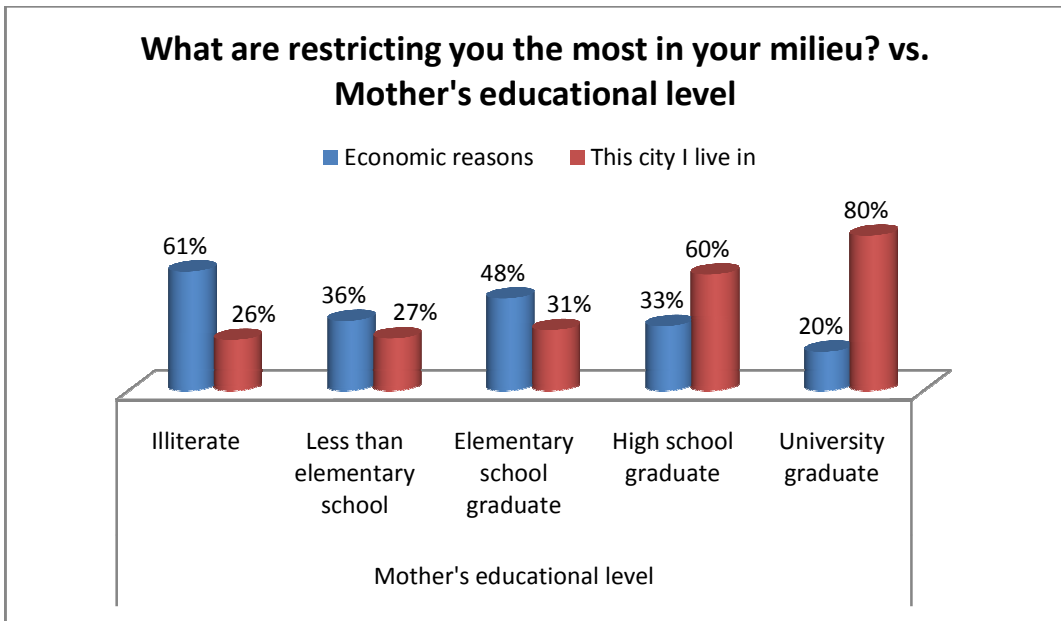


Figure 4.22: Mother's Educational level vs. socially restricting factors

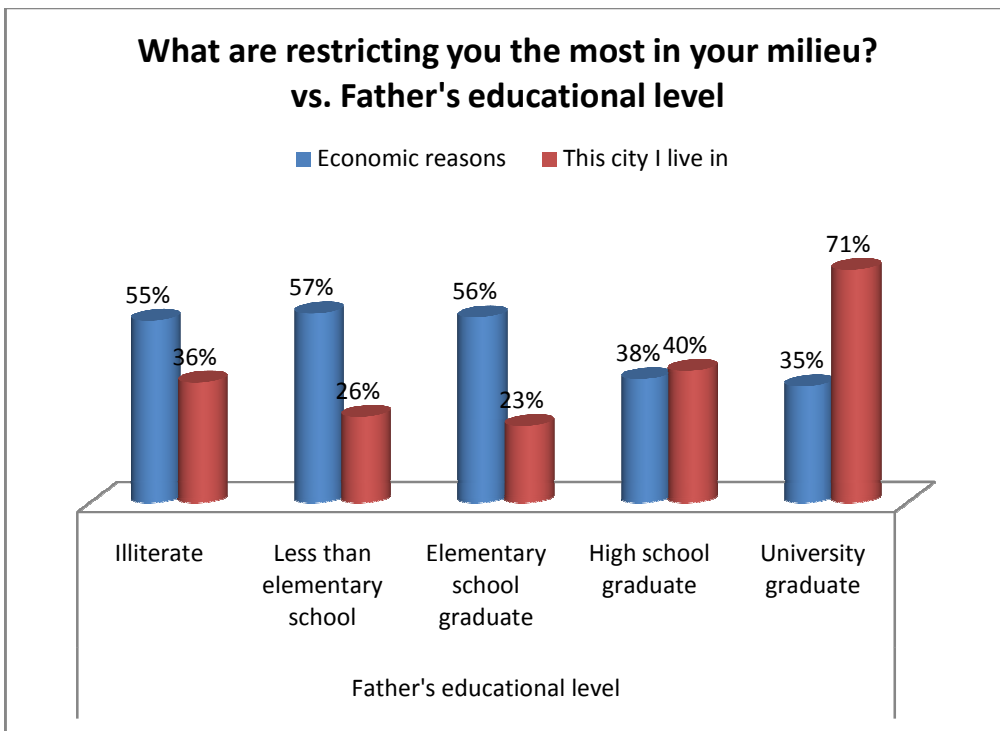


Figure 4.23: Father's Educational level vs. socially restricting factors

4.3. Conclusion:

As one of the dimensions of the participation in the society, participation in social life has an important role in the social and psychological development of the young people. Nevertheless, the youth in the South-eastern Anatolia region has serious problems with social life participation. Quantitative and qualitative data give plenty of information about the participation in the social life in the public sphere and in leisure time activities.

Social life participation of the youth in the region has some characteristics to be mentioned. First of these features is that social life and leisure time activities are limited to the private sphere. Young people in the region do not go out. In addition to low participation rates in the labour market and education the youth in the region does not participate in the social life either.

Another characteristic of the youth's social life participation in the region is the central role that television has in their home-based lives. Young people do not read books or newspapers; and access to the internet is not widespread in the region. Moreover, they do not go out much for entertainment. Thus, watching television remains as the only alternative for them as leisure time activity.

Although these characteristics apply to the social life participation patterns of the youth as a whole, there is a huge gap between the social life participation of the young women and young men in the South-eastern Anatolia region. Young men can go out more. They can go to internet cafes or go to parks and open spaces with their friends although there are not many options outside. However, many of the young women are not allowed even to go out. Most of them stay at home and entertain themselves by watching TV, listening to the music and by sometimes meeting their friends within the spatial boundaries of home.

Family background differences among the young people are also determinative of social life participation. Leisure time activity options outside the home or even at home like internet connection are available only for the young people from better of families.

There are three main reasons for this low level of social participation rate among the young people in the region. First one is the social structure in the region and social pressures on the youth. Many young people, especially the young women, are not allowed to go out. They have to stay at their homes. Here, it is important to emphasize that not only women but also men are oppressed by these social pressures. Although they open up space for themselves in social life, they also have to face restrictions such as time limitations on their return to home after going out with friends. However, restrictions on women are in any case greater than those on men.

Another reason for young people's low participation in the social life is the lack of opportunities in the region. As being the least developed region in Turkey, South-eastern Anatolia has very limited opportunities. There are not enough options for young men and young women to spend their leisure time.

Finally, economic pressures are also preventive for the participation of young people in the social life. The basic material needs such as the money for cinema tickets, public transport or suitable clothes for going to entertainment places are sometimes not available for young people in the region.

In addition to the importance of social life participation for the overall development of the young people, data show that participation in the social life in the public sphere is closely related to the participation in different dimensions of the society. Thus, it is important to mitigate the social pressures on the young people and create more opportunities in order for them to be included in the society.

CHAPTER 5

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Participation of young people in politics is often a neglected issue in Turkey. However, the issue of youth political participation is very significant as a basic human right and a social right being an important dimension of citizenship. There is a solid fact that levels of youth political participation are very low in Turkey, specifically in South-eastern Anatolia due to some regional conditions. This fact is the subject of analysis and evaluation in this chapter.

Article 21 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that the right to vote and participate in politics is a human right (United Nations 1948). Since that day, political participation has been an important aspect of the human rights as it enables people to claim for and use their other rights.

Furthermore, political participation is a basic citizenship right in the welfare state context. T. H. Marshall proposed a concept of citizenship as consisting of three dimensions: civil, political and social. He further claimed that the fully operation of citizenship has been altering the pattern of social inequalities (Marshall 2006). Thus, political participation that is directly related to the first two dimensions of citizenship is very crucial for social equality. In addition to this, policy implementations that increase the democratic participation of the youth can make a major shift in young individuals' citizenship status (Bessant 2003).

Despite its importance in the development of the youth's personality and citizenship status and despite the popularity it has gained through recent decades, youth political participation level is still very low in Turkey. According to the recent "State of Youth Survey" conducted for the preparation of "United Nations Development Programme National Human Development Report for Turkey 2008" on Youth, Turkey lags behind

in basic political participation indicators. Namely, the percentage of the youth who is active in a political party is 4.7 and the percentage of the youth who is a member of a non-governmental organization is only 4 in Turkey (UNDP 2008).

Although there is a common perception that political atmosphere is much denser in South-eastern Turkey due to the civil war going on in the region for about 30 years, the numbers show that the youth political participation rates in the region are not different from the whole country. According to the GAPYS, the rates of political party membership and NGO membership are both 3 % among the youth in South-eastern Turkey.

Despite having such importance and the political atmosphere around, low rates of youth political participation are seen in South-eastern Anatolia Region of Turkey which scores very weak in various development indicators. Due to these reasons and conditions, it is valuable to explore the opportunities and obstacles towards the political participation of the youth in South-eastern Anatolia and to suggest policy implementations for improving the youth political participation.

Throughout this chapter, I first mention the views on political participation and then the studies conducted about youth political participation in Turkey. Next, I analyze and try to interpret the current level of youth political participation in South-eastern Anatolia Region. Its relationship with the whole country and the factors effecting youth political participation such as gender, education or family background are also examined using quantitative and qualitative data.

5.1.1. Classical Political Participation Studies:

Early works of political participation considers only ‘voting’ as participation. One of the earliest of these is the work of Martin Lipset. He evaluates voting as one of the crucial

mechanisms of the democratic regimes. Moreover, he underlines the need for the participation of different groups of the society for a stable democracy (Lipset 1960). However, he proposes that higher participation does not need to be the optimal case for the democracies since it is possible that higher rates of participation may be due to the decrease in social cohesion or breakdown in the democratic process (Lipset 1960). On the other hand, Lipset points out that low participation may reflect a lack of effective citizenship and a lack of loyalty to the system (Lipset 1960). Parenti also underlines the issue of low participation and claims that it may be evidence to the dissatisfaction of the non-participants -or non-voters- with the politics around them (Parenti 1977).

Earlier works in the area of political science in Turkey are parallel to the international discussions of political participation which focus on voting. Ergun Özbudun is one of the scholars pioneering the participation literature in Turkey. Özbudun (1976) defines the modern society as the 'participant society' referring to Lerner. In his work, Özbudun considered actions as participation instead of intentions. That is why he only meant voting behaviour when talking about political participation. He stated that during the Turkish modernization process, it was the mobilized participation which had first increased but not the autonomous participation.

There were also other political scientists who took different types of political participation into account other than voting. Lester Milbrath (1966) was one of the first among these scholars. He defines a hierarchical and cumulative structure of various political activities grouped under the categories of spectator, transitional and gladiatorial political activities. Spectator political activities are defined as the activities which need less effort and involvement. Examples of this category are voting and talking to friends about elections. Activities which require more effort like participating in political party meetings, and contacting with politicians are defined as transitional political participation. Finally, engagement in politics as party membership or being nominee in the elections are gladiatorial political activities which require special time and energy.

Milbrath claims that people tend to involve more in politics as they get more political stimuli. Furthermore, people who are closer to the centre of the society get more stimuli than the ones in the periphery such as the youth, women, and people with lower income, lower SES or lower education do.

Deniz Baykal, who was inspired deeply by the works of Milbrath, was one of the first to study on political participation and to take different forms of political participation into account in Turkey. He tried to explore the individual and structural factors determining the political participation of an individual (Baykal 1970). He evaluated the concept of political participation in a broader sense rather than equating the concept of political participation to voting. For him political participation range from the different levels of political interest or political attitudes against various issues to membership of non-governmental organizations and political parties or taking role in election campaigns. He proposed that actively participating in non-political aspects of life also increases the level of political participation. Hence, he is again one of the first scholars in Turkey relating different types of participation to political participation. Referring to Milbrath, Baykal juxtaposed different levels of political participation which are following, taking attitudes against and involving in political events. He claimed a cumulative relationship between these different levels. This means that a person who has the top level of political participation namely involvement in political events is expected to have also lower levels of political participation which are following political events and taking attitudes against them. Contrary to Baykal, Eroğul (1999) claimed that the factors of political participation do not need to be consistent and it is not possible to talk about a cumulative relationship between different levels of participation.

Through his work Baykal stated that there are socio-economic, psychological and political variables affecting political participation. Realizing the significance of psychological and political variables he stated that socio-economic factors have the key role in understanding the political participation behaviour.

The work of Ersin Kalaycıoğlu (1983) based on a field research conducted in South Korea, Kenya and Turkey is also very influencing. Kalaycıoğlu tried to find out the social determinants of different levels of political participation when comparing the participation patterns of the people in three countries. Throughout his work, Kalaycıoğlu used Milbrath's 3-level system of political participation.

5.1.2. Citizenship and Political Participation:

As mentioned above, Marshall (2006) defined three stages of the citizenship. He analyzed citizenship as being consisted of civil, political and social rights. Civil (or legal) rights developed in the seventeenth century and institutionalized in the growth of law courts and individual legal rights. Political rights were developed with the modern parliamentary democracy in the following two centuries. Finally social rights such as unemployment benefits, and provision for health and education were developed in the twentieth century (Turner 1993). T.H. Marshall's conceptualization of citizenship was aiming to alter the pattern of social inequality caused by capitalist mode of production. Bryan Turner (Turner 1986 in Coles 1995) claims that Marshall's conceptualization does not only balance the relation between class and capitalism but also emphasizes the rights of women, children, the elderly and even animals. He adds that "citizenship is concerned with the nature of the social participation of people within the community" (p. 81).

The welfare view of citizenship has been criticized as being passive since social integration was tried to be achieved by social rights such as enrolment into education and training and social insurance systems (Walther et al. 2002). Evans and Harris (2004) claimed that this view resulted in the emergence of the concept of 'consumer citizenship' in which the individualistic citizen is seen as being capable of entering into active relations with the social services. This helped the emergence of the concept of 'active citizenship'. This view of citizenship underlining the obligations of citizens in

addition to rights highlights the importance of civil society in terms of political participation. Thus, it emphasizes the participation of individuals into policy making processes (Hoskins and Mascherini 2009). Hoskins (2006) defines active citizenship as “participation in civil society, community and/or political life, characterized by mutual respect and non-violence and in accordance with human rights and democracy.” (p. 4).

This new view of citizenship is also problematic as it expects individuals to intervene, fight for and deserve everything they need and expect no benefits from the state, like social assistance or social rights. However, the problem is that there is no point for an individual to participate in decision making processes if she/he does not expect anything from the policy maker. Thus, Sloam (2007) criticizes the active citizenship approach as it leads younger people to feel themselves responsible for obtaining housing, jobs or pensions and expect less from the state and engage less in conventional forms of politics.

Political participation of the youth is specifically crucial when its relationship to the discussions of citizenship and the role of the state is taken into consideration. Political participation assists not only the human development of the youth but also helps develop trust relationship between the state and young citizens. The next section gives an account of the work about youth political participation with an emphasis on human development and social citizenship.

5.1.3. Studies on youth political participation:

In the last few decades, the notion of youth political participation has gained importance in the works of international organizations. In correlation with that, it has also become popular in academia (O'Donoghue, Kirshner and McLaughlin 2002; Bessant 2003, 2004; Sloam 2007). In response to declining voting turnout rates of the youth, scholars tried to set forth why participation is important, what are the degrees and types of it and what are

the determinants of it. It has also been questioned whether the declining voting turnout really implicates a decrease in political participation or political interest.

The popularization of the issue of youth political participation is pretty much due to its importance. O'Donoghue et al. (2002) emphasize various benefits of youth involvement in decision making in terms of development. They point out the significance of youth political participation on organizational sustainability and efficiency and its contributions to democratic, social and economic development.

In addition to the scholars who consider youth political participation significant thanks to its role on human development, there are others who highlight the contribution of youth political participation to citizenship and democracy. Bessant (2003), for example, underlines the role of increased youth political participation on improving the citizenship status of young people who are excluded from political processes. She argues that exclusion of particular groups like young people make the legitimacy of the democratic mechanisms questionable. Furthermore, she adds that inclusion of the youth into the politics mitigates the power imbalance against them. Similarly, Forbrig (2005) relates the value of youth political participation to democratic legitimacy. He stresses that political participation is one of the crucial mechanisms for socially legitimizing democracy. He says that politics are in favour of urban, educated and affluent groups. Thus, inclusion of varied groups is essential and the youth is one of them. Moreover, youth political participation is also important since political socialization of the youth determines the future democratic legitimacy to a degree.

Likewise, Hart's (1992) conceptualization of the political participation of children with a ladder model consisting of eight degrees not only makes the notion of political participation very comprehensive for the children and the youth but also for other vulnerable groups such as the women, the elderly, individuals from lower classes and ethnic minorities.

Hart defines eight degrees of youth political participation three of which are defined as non-participation. These stages are respectively called as *manipulation*, decoration and tokenism. In the manipulation stage, children have no understanding of the issues that they participate in. Hence, they do not understand their actions but they are used in the activities like pre-school children carrying political play cards which are concerned with the impact of social policies on children. *Decoration stage* is the stage in which young people have little idea of what it is all about and no say in the organization of the occasion. The reason this stage is described as one rung up from ‘manipulation’ is that adults do not pretend to claim that the cause is inspired by young people. In the third level which is *tokenism*, the youth is apparently given a voice, but in fact young people have little or no choice about the subject or the style of communicating it, and little or no opportunity to formulate their own opinions.

The degrees of genuine participation are respectively as follows: *assigned but informed*; *consulted and informed*; *adult-initiated, shared decisions with youth*; *youth initiated and directed*; and lastly *youth-initiated, shared decisions with adults*. In the stage “*assigned but informed*”, youngsters understand the intentions, know who made the decisions concerning their involvement and why they made them. They have a meaningful (rather than ‘decorative’) role and volunteer for the project after the project was made clear to them. In the next stage “*consulted and informed*”, young people understand the process and their opinions are treated seriously when the project is designed and run by adults. In “*adult-initiated, shared decisions with youth*” stage, the decision-making is shared with the young people. Young people conceive of and carry out all occasion in “*youth initiated and directed*” stage. Finally, in the “*youth-initiated, shared decisions with adults*” stage, young people incorporate adults into projects they have designed and managed. Hart points out that the political participation of the youth is not independent of the power relations and all young people should have equal opportunities to learn to participate in programs that are related to their lives. His model of participation ladder

which classifies different levels of participation mentioned above clarifies the forms of participation according to different power roles.

To sum up, political participation of the youth has been internationally discussed around the concepts of human development, citizenship, democracy and decision making mechanisms. Yet, the literature on youth political participation in Turkey is still immature and the issue has been revolving around the changing political structure of the country and the studies have focused on the voting behaviour of the youth. The following part is a summary of the recent works on youth political participation in Turkey.

5.1.4. Research Studies on Youth Political Participation in Turkey:

Recent works on youth political participation in Turkey underline the milestone role of military coup in 1980. The studies of Samet İnanir (2005), Övgü Bursalı-Karakaş (2007) and Demet Lüküslü (2005) all mentioned the role of September 12 regime on decreasing youth political participation. The military regime that had been established with the coup d'état on September 12, 1982 claimed to stop the violence in the streets in which the youth was involved intensely. The suppression of the military regime on the political participation of the youth and the fear of the parents who lost their friends in the terror before or after 1980 kept youth away from any political engagement. Here, it is also important to underline the role of neoliberal politics that was put into action with the military regime and continued with the elected governments after 1983 on the new youth culture¹⁵. The perception about the politics that it is not a mechanism to solve the problems in the country is also a result of this neoliberal thinking (İnanır 2005).

¹⁵ According to Atabek (1999) September 12 regime was not only composed by the 5 generals in the National Security Council who ruled the country till the first democratic elections in 1983 but the ANAP (Motherland Party), the liberal democrat party that took the government in 1983 and implemented neoliberal politics, was also persistent and strict follower of it.

There are some remarkable studies recently done which directly aim the issue of youth political participation. First of these was conducted in 1999 by Strateji Mori and Arı Movement and published in 2001 entitled ‘Türk Gençliği ve Katılım’ (Turkish Youth and Participation) (Arı Movement 2001). Further research by Strateji|GFK was done in 2003 to see the changes in youth participation (Erdoğan 2003). Both research studies underlined the low level of political participation among the youth by a categorization of the types of political participation. They named the participation types connected to political parties such as membership in a political party, working in election campaigns or distributing leaflets for the party as “conventional forms of political participation”. On the other hand, signing petitions, making boycotts or participating in demonstrations are defined as “non-conventional forms of political participation”. Finally, recent political participation types such as taking part in protests on the internet and membership in NGOs are named as “post-modern participation”. The research results indicate that people tend to involve in particular forms of participation and young people who participate in politics can be categorized according to their forms of participation.

Latest National Human Development Report (NHDR) titled ‘Youth in Turkey’ prepared by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Turkey office covered the issue of youth political participation widely. Depending on the data from the ‘State of the Youth Survey’ conducted for the office, the report underlines that the youth in Turkey cannot participate in social and political life. In a background paper for the report Çarkoğlu (2007) claims that there are economic, attitudinal, cultural and political reasons for the non-participation of the youth. He argues that the economic inequalities; the socialization environment which does not promote active participation from the early childhood; the political culture that is not supportive of a well-functioning quality democracy and public institutions which do not respond to citizens’ demands and expectations all hinder the participation of young people. In line with the conceptualization of the United Nations, NHDR evaluates participation as having economic, political, social and cultural dimensions. Thus, the report suggests investment

in various areas in order to increase youth political participation. It offers more funding to improve overall education level and education of active citizenship; less strict mechanisms for the youth to participate in politics; and promotion of voluntary work and NGO participation (UNDP 2008). On a note about youth political participation, the report underlines the need for changing the perception of politics by the youth. Depending on both the qualitative and quantitative research conducted, the claim of the report is that the youth cultivates feelings of cynicism and distrust towards politics and politicians.

Based on the in-depth interviews with the youth, in her book Demet Lüküslü (2009) challenges the view that the youth is depoliticized consumers. She argues that the whole society is consumers of the consumption society but the 'youth' is chosen as scapegoats and regarded as a generation consisting of depoliticized individuals. However, what Lüküslü argues is that the position of the youth against politics is 'apolitical' instead of 'depolitical' and their 'apolitism' is also a political position since they are aware of the political problems but prefer staying away from the political structures. Lüküslü argues that the youth keeps themselves away from politics for various reasons: (1) they think 'politics' is contaminated: Young people after 1980s grew up in a political atmosphere with corruptions and scandals. Hence, they do not trust politicians and think that politicians work for their own benefits instead of public interest. (2) The political structure is tough and does not let the youth involve in: Young people do not believe that anything would change even if they protest or struggle to change it. They usually choose to accept this structure as it is and keep themselves away from it. (3) The politics is killing the 'individual' or 'individualism': Young people believe that there are established structures in political organizations which do not let young people participate in them with their own values. Hence, Lüküslü proposes that since young people are not only ignorant about politics but also opponents of it, there is still hope for establishing a different politics. Thus, she states that it is more accurate to blame old modes of political mechanisms which exclude the youth and quit blaming the youth itself.

The studies mentioned above elaborate on the political participation of the youth in the whole country without referring to a comparison of different regions of Turkey. Thus, there is not any work done on the matter in South-eastern Anatolia. In the data analysis part of this chapter, I try to interpret the state of the youth's political participation in South-Eastern Anatolia region and its differences from the general situation in Turkey by making use of the regional and national data.

5.2. Data Analysis:

When we look at GAPYS data for some findings about the political participation of the youth in the region, we see that it provides limited information about political participation. As stated before, only 2.7 % of the youth work actively for a political party. This covers only 26 people in the sample. Thus, it is hard to make further analysis. On the other hand, with its larger sample size the State of Youth Survey (SYS 2007) data and with its diverse questions about political participation European Social Survey (ESS 2006) data provides plenty of information.

The strictest definition of political participation considers only voting as participation. All the three data sets indicate low voting rates for the youth between the ages of 15 and 24. In ESS only 23 % of the youth said that they had voted in the last national elections (2002 parliamentary elections). However, 24.2 % said that they had not voted since they were not eligible for voting. Still, the participation rate among the eligible ones is 30.3 % while this is 74.8 % for the whole sample¹⁶. Similarly, the youth in South-eastern Anatolia Region have also low voting turnout rates. In the GAPYS, 30.5 % of the respondents said that they did participate in the last parliamentary elections (2007

¹⁶ Higher Election Council declared the participation rate for the 2002 national elections as 79.1%. Source: <http://www.belgenet.com/secim/3kasim.html>, accessed on 30.01.2010.

parliamentary elections) when 57.4 % did not vote since they were below 18 at the time of elections and 12.1 % did not vote although they were eligible for voting. It shows that among the respondents that were eligible for voting in 2007, 71.7 % participated in the elections. The overall participation rate in 2007 parliamentary elections was 84.25 % in the whole country and 77.9 % in the eight cities of the survey¹⁷.

Another indicator of involvement in institutional participation is party membership or working actively for them. In ESS, only 3.0 % of the youth in Turkey was found out to be the members of a political party and only 2.0 % said that they worked in a political party or an action group in the last 12 months. The percentage of the ones who worked actively for a political party was 4.7 % in the SYS. This rate is even lower for the South-eastern youth (2.7 %) according to the SYS.

Other than institutional politics like voting, party membership or taking role in election campaigns, Kovecheva (2005) defines protest activities and civic engagement as community participation or voluntary work. Moreover, according to Kalaycıoğlu (1983), membership in other organizations has also an increasing effect on political participation since it increases political interest, knowledge and activity. ESS data points out that 2.2 % of the youth responded positively to the question of whether they worked in organizations or associations other than political parties for the last 12 months. SYS formulated the question differently and asked the youth whether they were members of any non-governmental organizations. Only 4.1 % said 'yes'. The results are not higher for the youth in South-eastern Turkey. In GAPYS, 2.2 % of the youth said that they are members of or working voluntarily for a non-governmental organization.

Results show that youth political participation rates are fewer than 5 % for Turkey in general and for South-eastern Anatolia region in particular. Various scholars such as

¹⁷ Source: <http://www.tuik.gov.tr/secimdagitimapp/secim.zul>, accessed on 03.01.2010

Henn et al. (2002) and Griffin (2005) argue that the youth is in fact interested in politics and it is the old forms political participation in which the interest of the youth decreases.

ESS provides data in order to test this hypothesis. Table 5.1 shows that there is a significant difference between age groups in terms of interest in politics. The youngest and oldest age groups are the least interested groups (See also Appendix Table 5.1). In contrast with the above arguments the youth is the second least interested group in politics following the 55 + age group.

Table 5.1: Age groups and Political interest

Age * How interested in politics Crosstabulation								
			How interested in politics				Total	
			Very interested	Quite interested	Hardly interested	Not at all interested		
Age	15-24	Count	36	111	73	184	404	
		% within age	8.9%	27.5%	18.1%	45.5%	100.0%	
	25-34	Count	44	146	74	187	451	
		% within age	9.8%	32.4%	16.4%	41.5%	100.0%	
	35-44	Count	39	113	80	128	360	
		% within age	10.8%	31.4%	22.2%	35.6%	100.0%	
	45-54	Count	30	93	25	111	259	
		% within age	11.6%	35.9%	9.7%	42.9%	100.0%	
	55+	Count	34	87	42	190	353	
		% within age	9.6%	24.6%	11.9%	53.8%	100.0%	
	Total		Count	183	550	294	800	1,827
			% within age	10.0%	30.1%	16.1%	43.8%	100.0%

The fact that the youngest and the oldest age groups participate in politics the least is consistent with both the international and national research studies since the mid 20th century. Depending on several field works both Milbrath (1966) and Kalaycıoğlu (1983) argue that participation increases steadily by age until sixties and starts decreasing slowly after 60.

Most of the earlier arguments on the relationship between age and political interest or political participation point out the socio-economic differences. Lane (1959) claimed that the reasons for the low participation of the young people in politics is due to their relatively lower income, high geographic mobility, less clearly defined reference and membership groups, greater emphasis on entertainment, and lower frequencies of home ownership. Milbrath (1966) also stated that the reason younger and older age groups engage less in politics is because they get less political stimuli. Similarly, Nie, Verba and Kim (1974) argued that young people lack a stable basis for getting involved in politics such as extended residence in a locality, full involvement in the work force, marriage, and a family.

On the other hand, especially recent works emphasize the role of political structure. In his relatively earlier work, Jennings (1979) claimed that political opportunity structure plays a vital role in determining individual levels of participation and individuals respond to participation opportunities. Moreover, he states that the opportunity cost of political participation is low for younger people. More recent works of Matthews, Limb and Taylor (1999), Henn, Weinstein and Wring (2002) and Sloam (2007) all argue that political structure excludes young people by not targeting them and young people expect less from politics. Table 5.2 shows that the youngest age group feels significantly less attachment to a certain political party than all other parties. What is also demonstrated in this table is that among the higher age groups (from 25-34 to 55 +) the feeling of proximity to a certain political party slowly decreases as the age increases (See also Appendix Table 5.2).

Table 5.2 Age groups and Proximity to political parties

Age * Feel closer to a particular party than all other parties Crosstabulation						
			Feel closer to a particular party than all other parties		Total	
			Yes	No		
Age	15-24	Count	158	241	399	
		% within Age	39.6%	60.4%	100.0%	
	25-34	Count	248	201	449	
		% within Age	55.2%	44.8%	100.0%	
	35-44	Count	192	165	357	
		% within Age	53.8%	46.2%	100.0%	
	45-54	Count	135	119	254	
		% within Age	53.1%	46.9%	100.0%	
	55+	Count	180	167	347	
		% within Age	51.9%	48.1%	100.0%	
	Total		Count	913	893	1,806
			% within Age	50.6%	49.4%	100.0%

When analyzing the role of age on political participation, Kalaycıoğlu (1983) claimed that the youth tends to have an interest in pure ideologies which have less patience about the traditional ways of public advocacy. Due to these impatience and intolerance, young people show more interest in the parties that promise a challenge to the status-quo. In ESS questionnaire, there is a variable related to this issue. The question asks respondents to place themselves on a left-right scale from 0 – Left-wing to 10 – Right-wing. It is seen in the Figure 5.1 that young people’s answers concentrate in the middle, placing themselves on the most neutral position, and on the two edges.

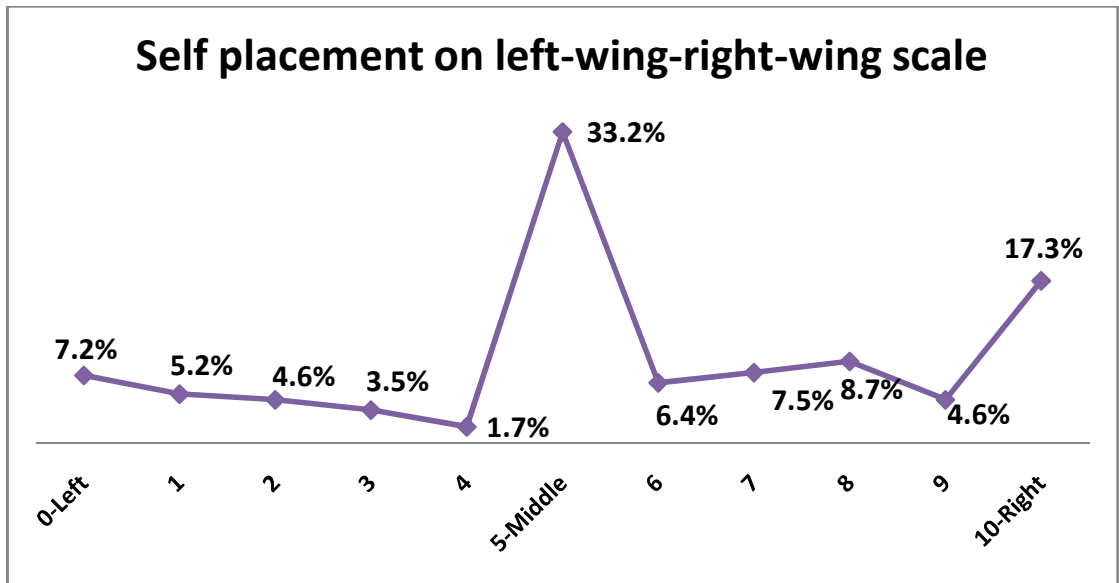


Figure 5.1: Self placement on left-wing-right-wing scale

Lüküslü (2009) concluded that one of the reasons why the youth in Turkey does not involve in politics is because they do not trust politicians and political mechanisms. The figure and tables below indicate consistent results. Figure 5.2 shows that there are significant differences (See Appendix: Tables 5.3-5.5) between age groups in terms of their trust scores over 10 about politicians, the parliament and the legal system. And, the youngest age group has the lowest trust scores.

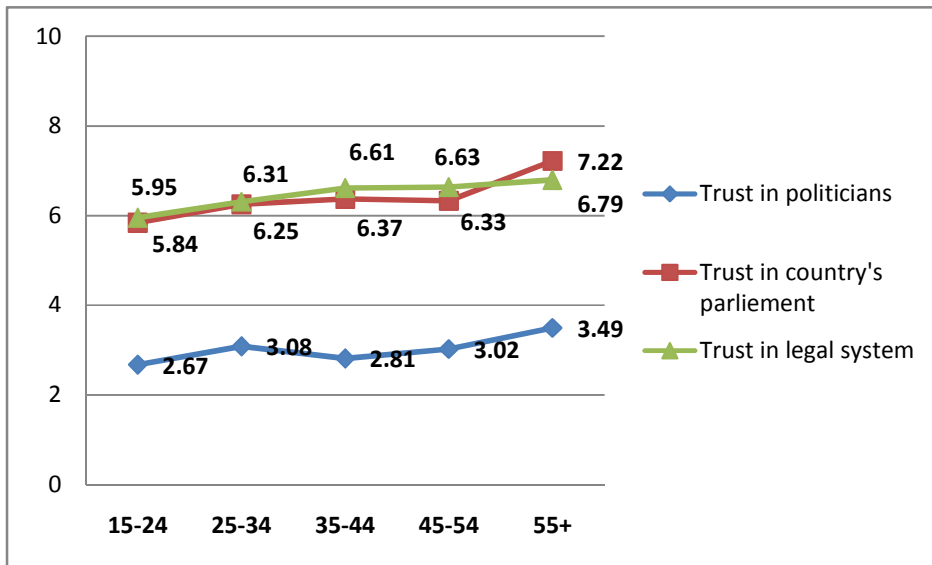


Figure 5.2: Trust in politicians, the parliament and the legal system

Although the findings above point out that young people are not interested in politics and they do not trust in political mechanisms, this does not mean that they are happy with the state of politics or conditions of their country. According to the Figure 5.3 below, there are statistically significant differences (See Appendix Tables 5.6-10) between the age groups in terms of the mean scores (over 10) of their satisfaction with the state of the economy, with the government, with the way democracy works, with the state of education and with the state of health services in Turkey. For all of these variables the youth is the least satisfied group. This dissatisfaction may be considered as an indicator of the young people's awareness about the problems in the society.

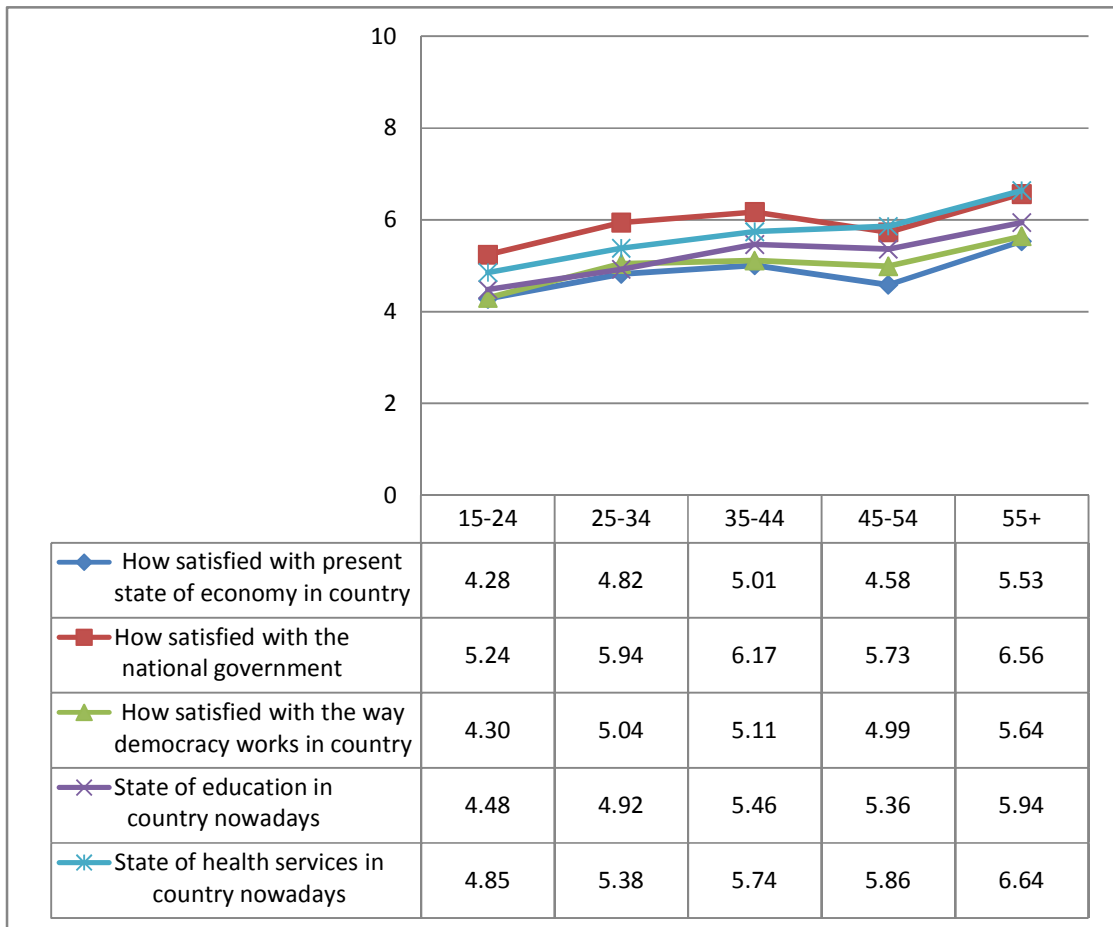


Figure 5.3: Evaluation of social and political problems according to satisfaction levels

5.2.1. Gender:

Gender is a key variable on political participation. About the role of gender on political participation Baykal (1970) referred to Lane's argument that the social image of the politics as 'a job for men' affects the political participation of women. Similarly, Kalaycıoğlu (1983) claimed that women tend to involve less in politics, they have less opportunity to use mass communication media and they have lower levels of political interest, political knowledge and political activities than men do due to their lower socio-economic status. He also claimed that women may have more difficulties with

involving in politics, especially in more time and energy consuming political activities, since these come into conflict with the social role expected from them. Ayata (1998) also claims that although there is an improvement in the political participation of women in Turkey, there still are sociological constraints in front of them. Quotations below which are from in-depth interviews with young women show examples of these constraints:

“Families don’t let youngsters join in politics. Girls can’t go to the meetings, for example. ‘There are a lot of men, what will you do’, they say. It is very narrow-mindedness; I don’t understand why it’s like that.” (15 years old, female, Mardin)

“I voted. I didn’t get excited. I signed and my brother took it. It was already determined to whom we would vote...If it is a woman they (families) can put borders. Like ‘Don’t go out too much’ or ‘Don’t interact with men’. There are no difficulties for men. I mean in terms of politics.” (21 years old, female, Şanlıurfa)

Besides, when women enter into politics they are limited to the “women roles” such as organization of women meetings for gaining the votes of women or supporting the men in their families (usually their husbands) who are involved in politics (Ayata 1998).

The country-wide data of ESS and regional data of GAPYS indicate no relationship between gender and voting participation (See Appendix Tables 5.11-14). However, there are significant differences between women and men according to their role taking in political parties. SYS data points out to the fact that young men take part in political parties more than young women do in Turkey. GAPYS data indicates similar results for the young people in South-eastern Anatolia (See Figure 5.4 and Appendix Tables 5.15-18). This is mostly due to the type of participation. Voting can be a more passive form of political participation. As stated in the above mentioned quotations sometimes women do not even decide whom to vote. On the other hand, party membership requires active engagement.

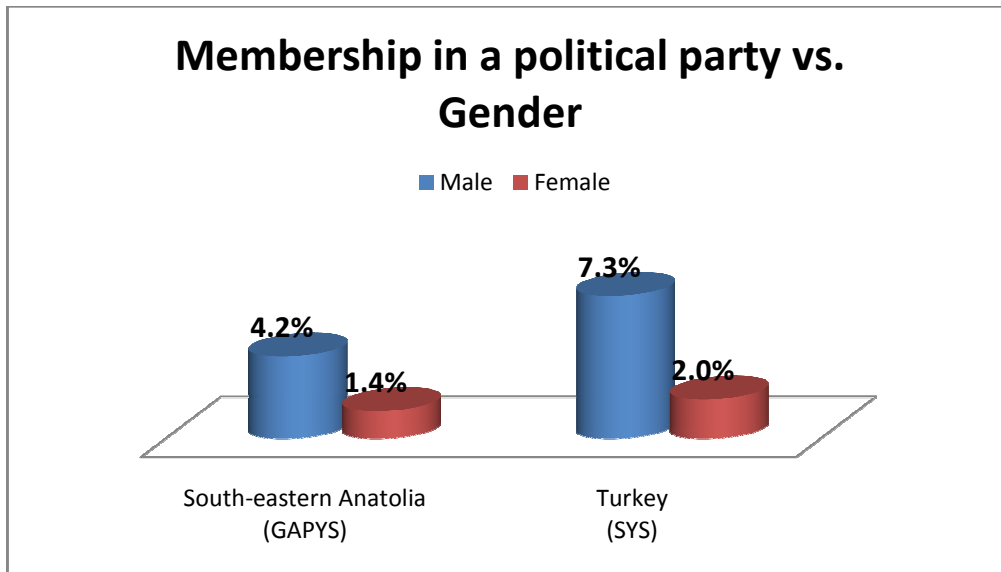


Figure 5.4: Gender and Political party membership

According to SYS data there is a similar gap between men and women in terms of NGO participation in Turkey. Nevertheless, according to GAPYS results there is not enough evidence to reject the claim that women and men have similar rates of NGO participation in South-eastern Anatolia (See Figure 5.5 and Appendix Tables 5.19-22). This regional difference in women’s participation in NGOs is interesting. However, as stated before, the sample size of the GAPYS is not enough to make further interpretations. Still, this equality may be due to the NGO structures in the region and in Turkey. Moreover, looking at the Figure 5.5 one can say that it is men’s low participation rate that makes South-eastern Anatolia different. This is because NGO participation of women is 3.0 % for both South-eastern Anatolia and Turkey whereas male NGO participation rate is 2.7 % and 5.1 % for South-eastern Anatolia and Turkey respectively. Yet, it is not proper to compare the numbers one by one between two distinct data sets. What I am trying to do is only comparing the results of these two (or three) surveys.

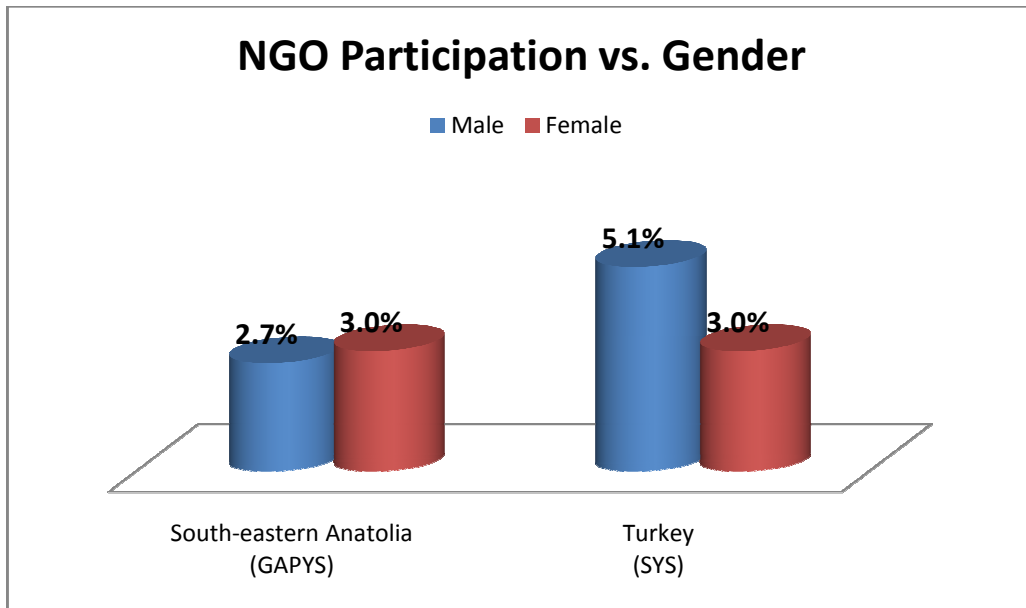


Figure 5.5: Gender and NGO participation

The question in the GAPYS which sought an answer to what young people talk about with their friends may be another indicator of political interest and enables us to compare the interests of young women and young men in South-eastern Anatolia. The percentage of young women who state that they talk about politics with their friends is 2.4 while it is 10.4 for the young men.

There is a plenty of studies in the literature, showing that women participate less in politics. Many scholars argued that women participate less like other disadvantaged groups or groups near the periphery do (Milbrath 1966; Hart 1992; Erdoğan 2003, Çarkoğlu 2007). Although the gap is getting closed for voting participation, it seems that the level of women's participation in South-eastern Anatolia in terms of political party membership is still lower than men's and South-eastern Anatolian women have less interest in politics than men do

5.2.2. Family background and education:

Especially in the international literature, it is argued that there is a positive correlation between the socio-economic development and mass political participation. Nie, Powell Jr. and Prewitt (1969) argue that economic development makes the relative size of upper and middle classes greater. Furthermore, the concentration of the citizens in the urban areas rises. Then, the density and complexity of economic and secondary organizations increases. Finally, this chain promotes an increase in political participation.

However, in the case of Turkey there are opposite interpretations especially in the studies before 1980s. Baykal (1970) defined political participation as an attitude of middle-classness and the norms administrating the political participation had become a part of middle-class ethics. He also argued that the effect of education on political participation alters with respect to the political party typologies. He said that the role of education in differentiating the political participation decreases as the social compositions of the political parties have a class dimension. He also argued that in Turkey, it is not possible to relate education with political participation by only looking at voting behaviour or voting rates. However, education has an increasing effect on political interest and other types of political participation. Furthermore, Özbudun (1975) claimed that there is a negative relationship between voting participation and both individual and rural socio-economic development. According to Özbudun, especially in underdeveloped villages, local leaders pull massive votes for their parties.

On the other hand, recent research studies show a positive relationship between education, socio-economic status and political participation. Depending on his research, Kalaycıoğlu (1983) argued that higher levels of education, higher occupational and higher socio-economic status have a positive relationship with political participation in Turkey. Moreover, studies conducted by Konrad Adenauer Foundation (1999) and Arı

Movement (Erdoğan 2003) both showed that participation increases with the socio-economic status.

In SYS data, no significant relationship was found between political party membership and socio-economic status or educational level (See Appendix Tables 5.23-26). However, the case is not the same for NGO membership. Increasing levels of both socio-economic and educational status have a positive effect on NGO participation (See Figures 5.6-7 and Appendix Tables 5.27-30).

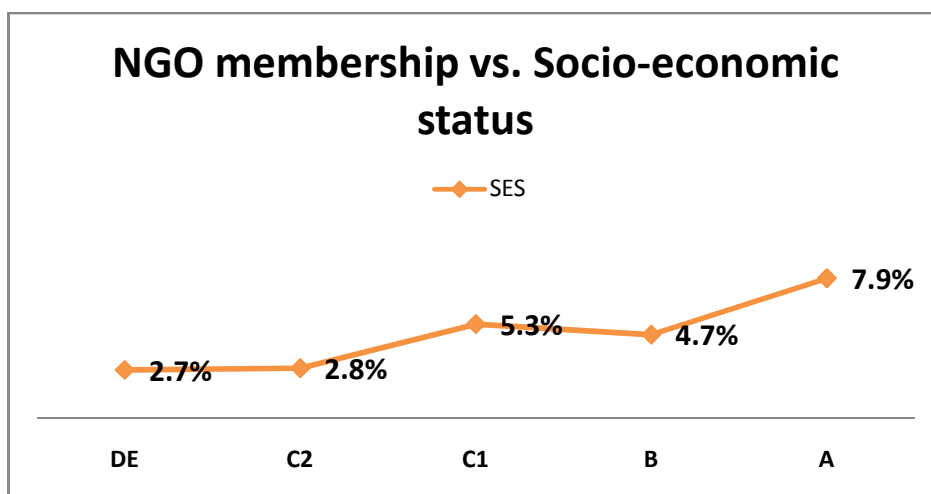


Figure 5.6: Socio-economic status and NGO membership

Figure 5.7 shows that NGO membership is at its top rate for university students. The second bigger group is university graduates. The percentages of young people who are engaged in NGOs are below 5 for other educational status groups. This result may be an indicator which depicts that young people get in touch with NGO's mostly in universities. The schools below university level and the social life out of the university setting do not offer opportunities to participate in NGOs.

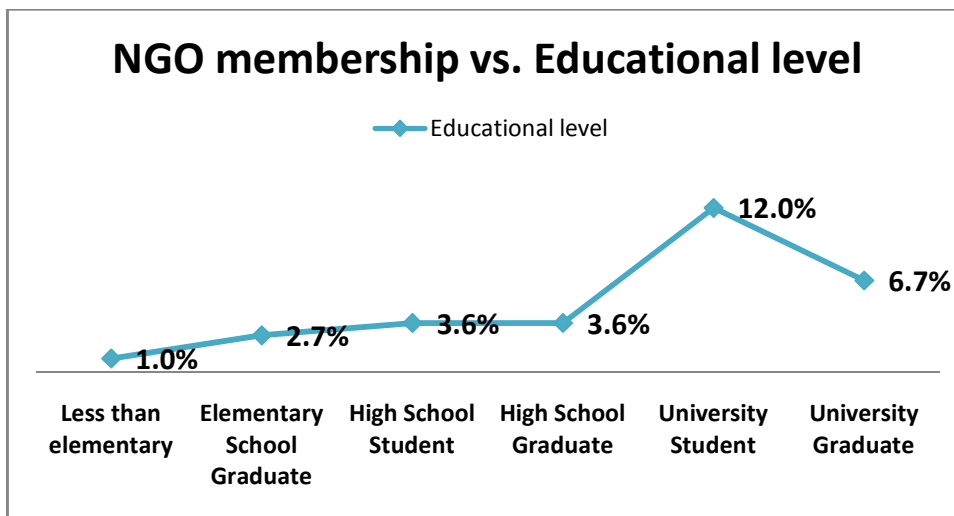


Figure 5.7: Educational level and NGO membership

Evidence from focus group interviews also point out the same structure. In this sense, NGO participation can be said to have middle and upper middle class youth experience. For instance, in one of the focus-group meetings a 23-year old volunteer of a youth NGO stated that their members are mostly high school and university students or graduates. Thus, the youth from the disadvantaged parts of the city “may feel a difference and may not feel themselves belonging there”. UNDP offers civil society participation as an alternative for older forms of political participation that does not attract young people any more (UNDP 2008). However, the evidence which shows that civil society appeals solely to particular groups make the issue more complicated and calls for the need for the questioning of NGO structures.

5.2.3. Reasons for non-participation:

Quantitative evidence shows that youth political participation rate is low both in Turkey and in South-eastern Anatolia. What is surprising here is that in terms of political participation rates, the South-eastern Anatolia region does not differ from the rest of the country. South-eastern Anatolia is expected to have denser political atmosphere due to

the Kurdish political movement which became stronger in the last thirty years with the ongoing armed conflict between the Turkish state and the armed PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party). The conflict has not only been going on between armed forces but also between police and civil people. The image of children and youngsters combating policemen with Molotov cocktails and stones became very common in the last few years. However, the violence in the cities and the arrestment of children who threw stones to the police dismay the young people instead of attracting their attention to political issues. Having seen that their friends were apprehended, many of their relatives or friends of their parents were arrested and convicted even for their democratic and non-violent reactions, young people keep themselves away from any kind of political engagement. For example, in one of the focus group meetings, a 16 year old high school student from Diyarbakır said: "In our region, most of the people who deal with politics are in jail" while explaining why he is not interested in politics. The role of families is also very crucial in this sense. Families are discouraging and even prohibiting their children to join in politics. A high-school graduate woman in Şanlıurfa, in one of our focus-group interviews stated that she could not participate in politics since her family- especially her father- did not let her, despite the fact that she wished to join in political parties. Below is an example from a focus group interview in Mardin:

“Respondent: Personally, I am afraid of any politics except for voting, joining into political things, afraid of things like participation.

Interviewer: Can you tell us why you are afraid of? It is very important for us, because youngsters are afraid but we don't know why.

Respondent: Since my childhood, my friend's father is in my subconscious. My friend is now in İstanbul. His father, for no reason, since he talked about politics, although he hasn't joined any activity, only since he is political he was in jail for 15 years. I have also seen few more examples in my life. I have seen an example from my peers. They didn't do anything, only a small talk. It frightened me very much. So, I am very afraid of politics. I am afraid of its consequences. When it is happened, God forbid, it doesn't matter how well your family treat you, man feels very disgraced to them. So, I am keeping myself away from these things.”
(15-years old, male, Mardin)

5.3. Conclusion:

In this chapter, making use of national and regional data I tried to reveal the level of youth political participation in South-eastern Anatolia and its discrepant dimensions from the situation in the whole country. It is found out that the level of political participation of the youth in South-eastern Anatolia is parallel to the corresponding levels within whole Turkey in many aspects. As the most common form of political participation, voting participation is lower for young people than the older ones. Political party and NGO membership is below 5 %. Data showed that although young people are dissatisfied with the social and economic conditions in the country, they try to keep themselves away from politics.

Political participation of the youth is determined by various socio-economic factors. Gender difference is one of the key elements which have an effect on the level of youth political participation. The previous chapters showed that women are excluded in many other spheres of life. Living in their closed communities, they cannot participate in social life and they cannot enter into the labour market. The situation is the same for political participation. Young women cannot participate in politics.

Differences according to family background are also important. International literature provides enough evidence for the realization of the positive relationship between socio-economic development and political participation. Although the case is not the same in the context of Turkey in terms of voting participation, it is possible to verify the positive relationship between socio-economic development and party membership or political interest. The fact that at least a basic level of education, income or social network is needed for political participation may also be instructive for any policy suggestion.

Even though it was seen in previous chapters that the youth in South-eastern Anatolia region differs from the youth in Turkey as a whole in terms of education, labour market

and social life participation, the level of political participation is very similar. This is partly due to the suppression of the coup d'état in 1980 and the depoliticizing culture of the neoliberal politics following the military regime that was imposed on all the young people in the whole country.

The region has also for sure its specific conditions. Nevertheless, with the low level of political participation and a relatively smaller sample size of our data it is not possible to employ interpretative statistical analyses in order to determine the socio-economic characteristics of the youth who participates in politics. Further research studies aiming particularly the issue of youth political participation will be much more informative about the issue and may offer more for policy implementations the purpose of which is the engagement of the youth into politics.

Finally, it is also important to underline that the definition of the participation in this study is in the limits of the data used. Most of the participation studies define political participation as a series of political action such as voting, party membership, engaging in public protests etc. However, especially young people do not involve these activities although they have a considerable knowledge about and have strong attitudes towards politics. Thus, it may be more explanatory to employ new definitions of political participation in further studies.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Despite the ambiguity of the subject, it is for sure that participation of the youth into their societies could significantly contribute to national human development (Çarkoğlu 2007). My aim in this study is to understand the patterns of participation of the youth in South-eastern Anatolia and I try to answer the questions that “What are the social dynamics of participation and non-participation of the youth in various dimensions of the society?”, “How does the youth in South-eastern Anatolia differ from the whole Turkey in terms of participation into different dimensions of the society?”, “What are the structural obstacles for their participation?” and “Which strategies can be used to improve the participation of the youth?”. Throughout the thesis, using national and regional data, I focus on participation of the youth in South-eastern Anatolia Region of Turkey into different dimensions of the society such as labour market, social life and political life. I found out in this study that young people in South-eastern Anatolia cannot participate into the various dimensions of the society. Their participation is affected by gender, family background, education and age. The social structure in the region, the lack of opportunities and the structure of the institutions such as labour market, political parties or NGOs are keeping young people out from participation.

Chapter 3, on labour market participation shows that many young people in South-eastern Anatolia cannot participate into the labour market after they leave school. Except for Gaziantep, there are too limited job opportunities in the provinces of South-eastern Anatolia. Moreover, the fact that many young people have low levels of education and being inexperienced due to their age make them prone to low quality working conditions.

In Chapter 4, participation of the youth in South-eastern Anatolia in social life is analyzed. As well as labour market, young people also cannot participate into the social

life in the public sphere. Many young people cannot even go out from their homes. What is striking most is that this is due to the reasons out of them. The material insufficiencies and lack of opportunities are trapping young people at their homes. In addition, social structure is also putting pressures on young people, limiting them in a social life within a closed community mainly in the private sphere.

Finally, I focus on political participation of the youth in Chapter 5. Youth in South-eastern Anatolia Region are keeping themselves away from political mechanisms as well as their peers in the rest of the country. Although the political conflict in the region is intense, political structure is not attracting young people. This is because of the negative experiences that the people participated in politics having for years. Furthermore, the political structure or the political institutions are not inclusive as well.

One of the most important findings of the analyses in the thesis is that different forms of are not only related but also dependent on each other. I found out that young people who are out of education and employment are having problems in social life participation. The regional data that I use in the thesis do not let us to make the same analysis for political participation. However, the national data show that political participation is also affected by other forms of participation.

The interpretative statistical analyses throughout the thesis also revealed that individual dimensions of participation of the youth are affected by various social characteristics. Gender is one of them. The social pressures are preventing young women from participation into different dimensions of the society. Young women drop-out from education after having compulsory basic education. Most of the families are expecting their daughters to leave school and wait at home till their marriage. Thus, young women are almost totally excluded from labour market. The female labour force participation

rate in Turkey is one of the lowest in the world (172nd among 184 countries)¹⁸. Furthermore, in South-eastern Anatolia labour force participation of women is much lower and many of the employed women are unpaid family workers in agriculture or employed in the informal sector. Social life participation of women is also problematical. The oppressive social structure is preventing the social life participation of both young men and young women. However, the pressure is heavier on the women. Their social life is limited in the private sphere. They can only contact with a few people. Finally, women are also excluded from political participation in South-eastern Anatolia. Even though there is not a significant difference between young men and young women in terms of voting participation, women are less participating in the institutional forms of participation such as party membership that requires an active participation in the public sphere.

Differences among youth due to family background are also affecting the participation of them. Young people from the families in which the education level of parents is low or income is less have less access to educational opportunities. Moreover, in South-eastern Anatolia many of them feel an obligation to quit school early and start working in order to help their families. Partly, as a result of their low levels of education, they experience problems in finding jobs or they work in bad conditions with low wages. Material shortages are limiting young people also in terms of social life participation. Many young people do not have any money to go to a cafe, to cinema or even to use public transport. Political participation is also affected by family background and social status differences. Data show that less educated or unemployed young people are less participating in politics. Especially, NGOs which are thought to be a new way of including young people in decision taking mechanisms are not appealing the youth from lower classes. The social structure, which keeps young people out of various dimensions

¹⁸ World Bank, World Development Indicators, <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.TLF.CACT.FE.ZS/countries/latest?display=default>, accessed on 31.08.2010

of the society, creates a vicious circle. Numbers are proving that the children of parents that have lower education or that are unemployed are also not participating and they have little chance to achieve an upward social mobility.

In addition to their parents' level of education and occupational status, young people's education level has also positive relationships with participation into labour market, social life and politics. The issue is underlined various times throughout the thesis. As mentioned above, since many young people in the region have to quit school early due to material insufficiencies. This makes to find a decent job harder for young people. Moreover, data show that less educated young people also have low levels of participation in the social life in the public sphere and participation into politics.

Participation of young people into society also differs according to age. When narrower age groups between 15 and 19 and between 20 and 24 compared, it is found that the young people in these groups have also different experiences of participation. As mentioned various times, youth is a life period that many transitions are experienced in. Many people leave school, get a job or marry in the ages of their youth. Thus, their experiences of participation into society change during this period.

Furthermore, participation of the youth in South-eastern Anatolia is differing from the overall situation in Turkey. Numbers show that young people in South-eastern Anatolia are less participating into labour market and social life than their peers in the rest of the country. It can be concluded that the gaps between social groups such as men and women, working class and middle class or educated and not educated are deeper in South-eastern Anatolia. The numbers are only unique in terms of political participation for both the region and the country. However, this does not mean that youth in South-eastern Anatolia are more participant in terms politics. On the contrary, the youth political participation in the whole Turkey is very low. This is mostly due to the

nationwide old and corrupted political structure and depoliticizing pressures of the military coup d'état in 1980 effects of which are still influential on the whole society.

In this thesis, I evaluate the participation of the youth in South-eastern Anatolia in economic, social and political life in the limits of my data. Nevertheless, there are also other dimensions and determinants of participation that I cannot cover in this study. As mentioned at the introduction, participation has economic, social, political and cultural dimensions. However, the data I use in this study does not cover cultural dimension including ethnicity, mother language or expression of cultural values. Thus, I could not take account of the cultural dimension of participation in this thesis. A recent research study on Kurdish population in Turkey found out that 64.1 % of the population in South-eastern Anatolia defines themselves as Kurdish (Ağırdir 2008). Thus, ethnic and cultural differences are probably very effective on the participation of the people in South-eastern Anatolia. In some of the interviews young people stated that barriers against the usage of their mother language or against the expression of ethnic and cultural identities are also preventing them from participation into society. Therefore, the issue should be covered in detail in further researches. Moreover, further researches that are going to focus on and designed for the issue of participation and taking into account the interaction between different forms of participation in detail will also contribute a lot.

Policy suggestions:

Finally, I want to discuss the strategies for improving the participation of the youth in South-eastern Anatolia Region. When the legislations of different institutions in Turkey about youth is evaluated, it is seen that young people are considered as a human resource that should be trained to ensure the unity of the state and as a group in society that should be protected against bad habits (Youth Partnership 2010). Furthermore, there is not a law devoted in particular for youth. Youth services are provided by different institutions (UNDP 2008). This patchy structure leads inconsistent approaches to youth.

The multiplicity of state actors regarding youth related decision-making and provision/implementation of services causes repetitive provision of the same services or its non-provision (Göksel 2010).

The fragmented structure remains the same in the regional level. In South-eastern Anatolia, GAP Management, State Planning Organization, municipalities and many NGOs are implementing policies and running projects about youth. The youth centres of GAP Management, the projects run under the ‘Social Assistance Program’ of the State Planning Organization and the social responsibility projects especially in the area of education by various NGOs and international organizations have been very effective recently but there is still not a general youth program or policy schedule for the youth in the region.

Before mentioning any concrete policy implementations, I think the results of the analyses should be considered carefully. First of all, it is important to mind that participation has various dimensions and these are dependent of each other. Thus, a policy attempt should take into account all the dimensions of participation. Many policy implementations aiming to include youth into the society are only focusing on the labour market participation of the youth. Nevertheless, a policy attempt that is targeting the participation in various dimensions of the society or multiple policy implementations on different dimensions at the same time will be more effective.

Second, all the chapters show that participation of the youth is highly effected by socio-demographic characteristics. Young people not only have different levels of participation according to their gender, family background, education level or age but also have different experiences of participation. Thus, there is not a one size fits all solution for the youth participation. Social diversities among youth should be considered when policies are formed.

Third, throughout the study it is seen that families play a key role in all dimensions of participation and mostly discouraging youth from participation. Hence, youth policies should also target families.

After all, I want to offer few policy implementations for different participation dimensions in the same order of the thesis.

First of all, the connection between school and work has key importance. National Human Development Report on youth (UNDP 2008) states that the vocational training in Turkey is outdated and educational infrastructure is insufficient for preparing students to work. Hence, adjustment of the vocational schools and making them attractive for young people is very important.

Neoclassical approach to economics suggests that the flexible labour market structure decreases the unemployment. The military regime that came into power in 1980 and the elected governments followed it applied policies that decrease wages dramatically and increase profits which accompanied by high percentage of unregistered employment and increasing number of unpaid employment. However, unemployment rates increased consistently. Scholars such as Bulutay (1995) and Ansal et al. (2000) claim that the solution for unemployment should be sought in the demand side of the labour market. Especially, in South-eastern Anatolia where unemployment is high and labour market is consisted of informal works in which the working conditions are very low and employees are paid less, job opportunities ought to be increased especially by the state. Moreover, increasing the women labour force participation is also very crucial both for the participation of the young women of today and for future generations since the analyses show that mothers' socio-economic condition is highly effective on youth's participation.

On social life participation, it is important to target the reasons that put young people off the participation such as the pressure of the families and social environment around them, the economic pressures and limited opportunities. During field researches in the region, we visited youth centres in different provinces and met with their executive members and participants. Youth centres are helping young people a great deal both to socialize with their peers and increase their consciousness about the problems of themselves and their society. However, these youth centres are mostly in the better off parts of the cities and appealing young people from middle class or upper class families. Increasing the number of these youth centres where young people come together and make use of their collective abilities would contribute a lot to youth participation. Establishing new youth centres in the periphery areas of the cities would make them more available for disadvantaged young people and help to increase their participation. The proximity may also be used for getting in touch with families. Recent practices show that families are getting more tolerable for the participation of their children into these centres if they can see and understand what young people do in these places and how it contributes to the development of their children.

Like youth centres, NGOs are also promoting the political participation of the young people. These institutions are different than the older political establishments and attract young people more. However, the fact that these institutions only appeal young people from higher socio-economic status groups should be questioned. Since the number of NGO participants is very low, it is not possible to make a statistical analysis with the data I use in this study. However, we visited various NGOs in the field and made interviews with their members. Depending on my own observations, I can admit that the participants of the NGOs are more participating in the other dimensions of the society. They are usually university or high school students. Most of them are from higher income families or have their own jobs. Though, as also the members of these organizations have stated, they are a minority group among the youth in the region. Increasing the participation of young people from lower socio-economic groups into

these NGOs would not only improve the participation of young people into their societies but also enrich these bodies.

Finally, I want to mention the problems that young people in South-eastern Anatolia experience in terms of participation into politics. In the last few years many young people were arrested since they have claimed to participate in public protests. These pressures on the political participation of the youth and on the free speech contribute nothing for these young people more than to feel less loyalty to the state they belong to. Hence, the prevention of terrorism act, judgment of the children below the age of 18 and legal restrictions on free speech has to be revised as soon as possible.

To sum up, this study which focuses on the participation patterns of the youth in South-eastern Anatolia reveals that young people cannot participate in labour market, social life and politics. As the major finding of the study, it is found that different dimensions of participation are dependent on each other. In addition to the social pressures on youth, lack of opportunities and the unappealing structure of the institutional bodies; existing inequalities due to gender, family background and education level also prevent youth from participation into different dimensions of the society. Thus, further studies on these social determinants of youth participation that takes into consideration the different dimensions of it in the national level would contribute a lot to the youth studies and serve plenty of knowledge for youth policies in Turkey.

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APPENDIX A

Table 3.1: Socio-economic condition vs. Mother's education level

Socio-Economic Condition * Mother's education level Crosstabulation							
		Mother's education level					Total
		Illiterate	Less than elementary school	Elementary school graduate	High school graduate	University graduate	
Socio-Economic Condition	Working	84	13	24	4	1	126
		14.6%	13.0%	9.6%	26.7%	20.0%	13.3%
	Student	172	32	119	7	4	334
		30.0%	32.0%	47.6%	46.7%	80.0%	35.4%
	Unemployed	95	11	35	1	0	142
		16.6%	11.0%	14.0%	6.7%	0.0%	15.0%
	Discouraged Unemployed	42	5	5	0	0	52
		7.3%	5.0%	2.0%	0.0%	0.0%	5.5%
House Woman	128	21	34	2	0	185	
	22.3%	21.0%	13.6%	13.3%	0.0%	19.6%	
Preparing for University	24	10	19	0	0	53	
	4.2%	10.0%	7.6%	0.0%	0.0%	5.6%	
Idle	29	8	14	1	0	52	
	5.1%	8.0%	5.6%	6.7%	0.0%	5.5%	
Total		574	100	250	15	5	944
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 3.2: Socio-economic condition vs. Mother's education level

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	56.397(a)	24	0.000
Likelihood Ratio	60.378	24	0.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	3.771	1	0.052
N of Valid Cases	944		

a. 13 cells (37.1%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .28.

Table 3.3: Socio-economic condition vs. Father's education level

Socio-Economic Condition * Father's education level Crosstabulation							
		Father's education level					Total
		Illiterate	Less than elementary school	Elementary school graduate	High school graduate	University graduate	
Socio-Economic Condition	Working	29	15	72	7	0	123
		15.1%	13.0%	13.5%	8.8%	0.0%	13.1%
	Student	48	32	197	44	13	334
		25.0%	27.8%	37.0%	55.0%	76.5%	35.7%
	Unemployed	35	16	81	6	1	139
		18.2%	13.9%	15.2%	7.5%	5.9%	14.9%
	Discouraged Unemployed	15	7	27	3	0	52
		7.8%	6.1%	5.1%	3.8%	0.0%	5.6%
	House Woman	49	36	87	10	1	183
		25.5%	31.3%	16.4%	12.5%	5.9%	19.6%
	Preparing for University	4	5	34	9	1	53
		2.1%	4.3%	6.4%	11.3%	5.9%	5.7%
	Idle	12	4	34	1	1	52
		6.3%	3.5%	6.4%	1.3%	5.9%	5.6%
Total		192	115	532	80	17	936
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 3.4: Socio-economic condition vs. Father's education level

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	69.678(a)	24	0.000
Likelihood Ratio	72.663	24	0.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	4.485	1	0.034
N of Valid Cases	936		

a. 9 cells (25.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .94.

Table 3.5: Socio-economic condition vs. Father's occupation

Socio-Economic Condition * Father's Occupation Crosstabulation								
		Father's Occupation						Total
		Farmer	Trades man/ Crafts man	Officer	Qualified worker	Unemplo yed	Unqualifi ed worker	
Socio - Econ omic Condi tion	Working	18	14	5	16	23	32	108
		22.5%	11.3%	9.4%	14.4%	13.8%	11.0%	13.1%
	Student	17	46	31	50	45	105	294
		21.3%	37.1%	58.5%	45.0%	26.9%	36.0%	35.6%
	Unemployed	9	12	2	11	35	59	128
		11.3%	9.7%	3.8%	9.9%	21.0%	20.2%	15.5%
	Discouraged Unemployed	4	4	3	3	13	16	43
		5.0%	3.2%	5.7%	2.7%	7.8%	5.5%	5.2%
	House Woman	28	25	5	22	38	52	170
		35.0%	20.2%	9.4%	19.8%	22.8%	17.8%	20.6%
	Preparing for University	1	10	6	6	6	12	41
		1.3%	8.1%	11.3%	5.4%	3.6%	4.1%	5.0%
	Idle	3	13	1	3	7	16	43
		3.8%	10.5%	1.9%	2.7%	4.2%	5.5%	5.2%
Total		80	124	53	111	167	292	827
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 3.6: Socio-economic condition vs. Father's occupation

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	81.476(a)	30	0.000
Likelihood Ratio	80.665	30	0.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	0.852	1	0.356
N of Valid Cases	827		

a. 6 cells (14.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.63.

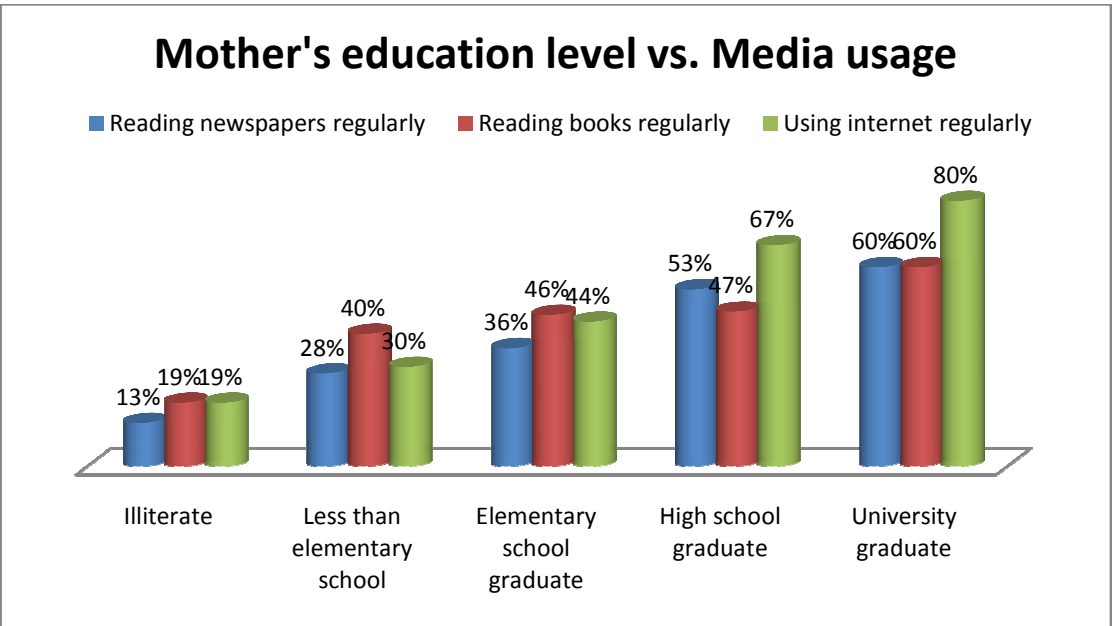


Figure 3.1: Mother’s education level vs. Information media usage

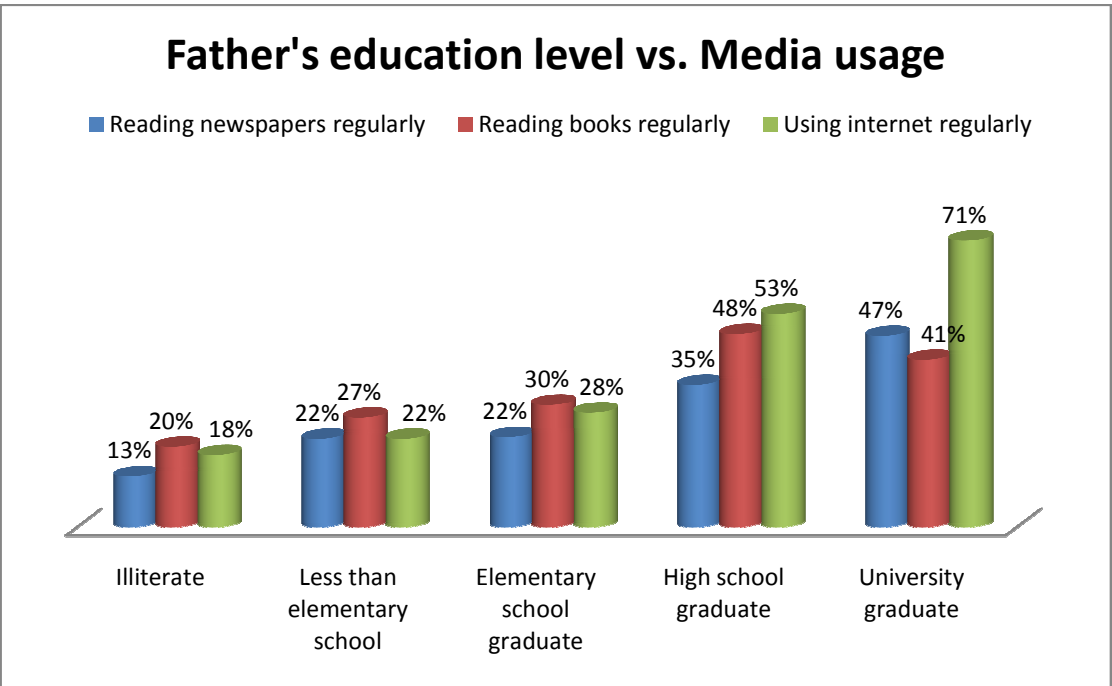


Figure 3.2: Father’s education level vs. Information media usage

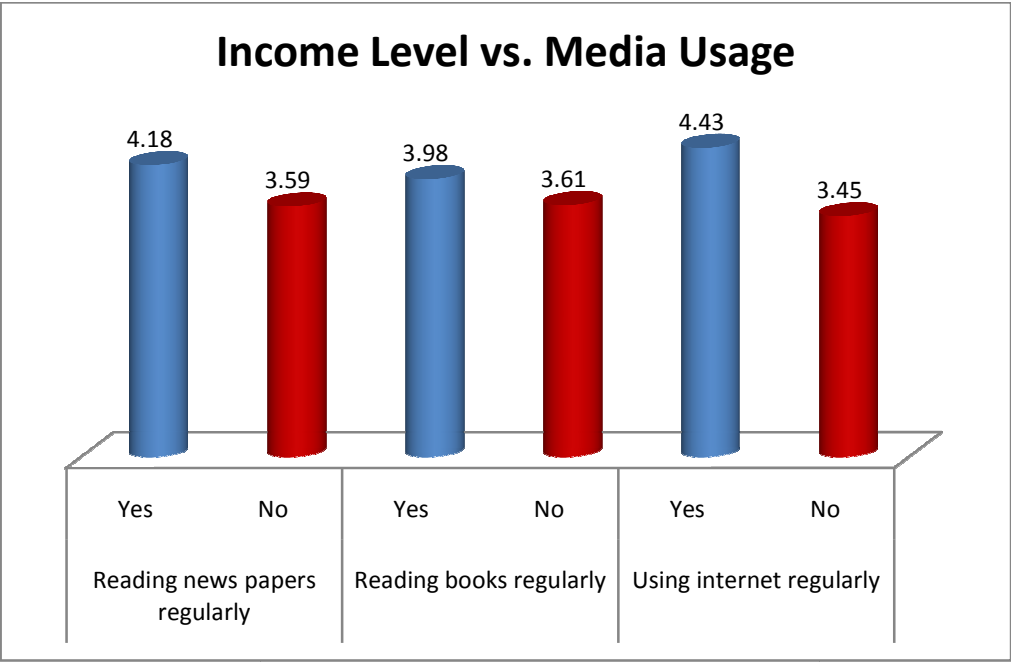


Figure 3.3: Income level vs. Information media usage

Table 4.1: Income level vs. Reading newspapers regularly

ANOVA					
Income Level					
	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	55.261	1	55.261	17.017	0.000
Within Groups	3,065.505	944	3.247		
Total	3,120.766	945			

Table 4.2: Income level vs. Reading books regularly

ANOVA					
Income Level					
	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	26.453	1	26.453	8.070	0.005
Within Groups	3,094.314	944	3.278		
Total	3,120.766	945			

Table 4.3: Income level vs. Using internet regularly

ANOVA					
Income Level					
	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	185.490	1	185.490	59.654	0.000
Within Groups	2,935.277	944	3.109		
Total	3,120.766	945			

Table 4.4: Income level vs. "Where do you go out for entertainment?"

Descriptives				
Income Level				
	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error
Goes out for entertainment	485	4.05	1.862	0.085
Does not go out for entertainment	461	3.37	1.703	0.079
Total	946	3.72	1.817	0.059

Table 4.5: Income level vs. "Where do you go out for entertainment?"

ANOVA					
Income Level					
	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	109.485	1	109.485	34.322	0.000
Within Groups	3,011.282	944	3.190		
Total	3,120.766	945			

Table 4.6: Income level vs. “This city I live in is restricting me the most”

Descriptives				
Income Level				
This city I live in is restricting me the most	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error
Yes	268	4.09	2.091	0.128
No	678	3.57	1.676	0.064
Total	946	3.72	1.817	0.059

Table 4.7: Income level vs. “This city I live in is restricting me the most”

ANOVA					
Income Level					
	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	51.103	1	51.103	15.715	0.000
Within Groups	3,069.663	944	3.252		
Total	3,120.766	945			

Table 4.8: Income level vs. “Economic reasons are restricting me the most”

Descriptives				
Income Level				
Economic reasons are restricting me the most	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error
Yes	515	3.55	1.610	0.071
No	431	3.93	2.021	0.097
Total	946	3.72	1.817	0.059

Table 4.9: Income level vs. “Economic reasons are restricting me the most”

ANOVA					
Income Level					
Economic reasons are restricting me the most	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	33.558	1	33.558	10.261	0.001
Within Groups	3,087.209	944	3.270		
Total	3,120.766	945			

Table 5.1 Age groups vs. Political interest (ESS)

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	44,271(a)	12	0.000
Likelihood Ratio	44.733	12	0.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	0.704	1	0.401
N of Valid Cases	1,827		

a. 0 cells (,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 25,94.

Table 5.2 Age groups vs. Proximity to political parties (ESS)

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	25,504(a)	4	0.000
Likelihood Ratio	25.639	4	0.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	7.419	1	0.006
N of Valid Cases	1,806		

a. 0 cells (,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 125,59.

Table 5.3: Trust in politicians vs. Age groups (ESS)

ANOVA					
Trust in politicians					
	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	136.687	4	34.172	3.569	0.007
Within Groups	16,667.313	1,741	9.573		
Total	16,804.000	1,745			

Table 5.4: Trust in parliament vs. Age groups (ESS)

ANOVA					
Trust in country's parliament					
	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	357.156	4	89.289	7.458	0.000
Within Groups	21,023.209	1,756	11.972		
Total	21,380.366	1,760			

Table 5.5: Trust in the legal system vs. Age group (ESS)

ANOVA					
Trust in the legal system					
	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	159.914	4	39.979	3.476	0.008
Within Groups	20,069.171	1,745	11.501		
Total	20,229.086	1,749			

Table 5.6: How satisfied with present state of economy in country vs. Age groups (ESS)

ANOVA					
How satisfied with present state of economy in country					
	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	300.203	4	75.051	7.381	0.000
Within Groups	17,743.740	1,745	10.168		
Total	18,043.943	1,749			

Table 5.7: How satisfied with the national government vs. Age groups (ESS)

ANOVA					
How satisfied with the national government					
	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	344.311	4	86.078	7.964	0.000
Within Groups	18,969.578	1,755	10.809		
Total	19,313.889	1,759			

Table 5.8: How satisfied with the way democracy works in country vs. Age groups (ESS)

ANOVA					
How satisfied with the way democracy works in country					
	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	297.403	4	74.351	7.957	0.000
Within Groups	14,866.644	1,591	9.344		
Total	15,164.047	1,595			

Table 5.9: State of education in country nowadays vs. Age groups (ESS)

ANOVA					
State of education in country nowadays					
	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	414.862	4	103.715	9.682	0.000
Within Groups	18,029.270	1,683	10.713		
Total	18,444.132	1,687			

Table 5.10: State of health services in country nowadays vs. Age groups (ESS)

ANOVA					
State of health services in country nowadays					
	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	627.293	4	156.823	14.857	0.000
Within Groups	18,830.814	1,784	10.555		
Total	19,458.107	1,788			

Table 5.11: Gender and Voting participation of youth in Turkey (ESS)

Crosstab						
			Voted last national election			Total
			Yes	No	Not eligible to vote	
Gender	Male	Count	36	84	46	166
		% within Gender	21.7%	50.6%	27.7%	100.0%
	Female	Count	57	130	52	239
		% within Gender	23.8%	54.4%	21.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	93	214	98	405
		% within Gender	23.0%	52.8%	24.2%	100.0%

Table 5.12: Gender vs. Voting participation of youth (ESS)

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1,901(a)	2	0.387
Likelihood Ratio	1.886	2	0.389
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.365	1	0.243
N of Valid Cases	405		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 38,12.

Table 5.13: Gender and Voting participation of youth in South-eastern Anatolia (GAPYS)

			E2. Did you vote in the national elections in 2007?			Total
			YES, I voted	I didn't vote since I was below 18	I didn't vote even if I was above 18	
A1. Gender	Female	Count	155	278	62	495
		% within A1. Gender	31.3%	56.2%	12.5%	100.0%
	Male	Count	134	265	52	451
		% within A1. Cinsiyet	29.7%	58.8%	11.5%	100.0%
Total		Count	289	543	114	946
		% within A1. Cinsiyet	30.5%	57.4%	12.1%	100.0%

Table 5.14: Gender vs. Voting participation of youth (GAPYS)

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	,669(a)	2	0.716
Likelihood Ratio	0.670	2	0.715
Linear-by-Linear Association	0.022	1	0.882
N of Valid Cases	946		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 54,35.

Table 5.15: Gender and Political party membership of youth in South-eastern Anatolia (GAPYS)

Crosstab					
			Are you working actively for a political party?		Total
			YES	NO	
Gender	Female	Count	7	488	495
		% within Gender	1.4%	98.6%	100.0%
	Male	Count	19	432	451
		% within Gender	4.2%	95.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	26	920	946
		% within Gender	2.7%	97.3%	100.0%

Table 5.16: Gender vs. Political party membership in South-eastern Anatolia (GAPYS)

Chi-Square Tests					
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6,916(b)	1	0.009		
Continuity Correction(a)	5.908	1	0.015		
Likelihood Ratio	7.118	1	0.008		
Fisher's Exact Test				0.009	0.007
Linear-by-Linear Association	6.908	1	0.009		
N of Valid Cases	946				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table
b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 12,40.

Table 5.17: Gender and Political party membership in Turkey (SYS)

Crosstab					
			Are you working actively for a political party?		Total
			Yes	No	
Gender	Male	Count	122	1,549	1,671
		% within Gender	7.3%	92.7%	100.0%
	Female	Count	33	1,618	1,651
		% within Gender	2.0%	98.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	155	3,167	3,322
		% within Gender	4.7%	95.3%	100.0%

Table 5.18: Gender vs. Political party membership in Turkey (SYS)

Chi-Square Tests					
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	52,488(b)	1	0.000		
Continuity Correction(a)	51.303	1	0.000		
Likelihood Ratio	55.747	1	0.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				0.000	0.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	52.472	1	0.000		
N of Valid Cases	3,322				
a. Computed only for a 2x2 table					
b. 0 cells (,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 77,03.					

Table 5.19: Gender and NGO membership in South-eastern Anatolia (GAPYS)

Crosstab					
			Are you a member of or working voluntarily for a NGO?		Total
			YES	NO	
A1. Gender	Female	Count	15	480	495
		% within Gender	3.0%	97.0%	100.0%
	Male	Count	12	439	451
		% within Gender	2.7%	97.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	27	919	946
		% within Gender	2.9%	97.1%	100.0%

Table 5.20: Gender vs. NGO membership in South-eastern Anatolia (GAPYS)

Chi-Square Tests					
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	,116(b)	1	0.733		
Continuity Correction(a)	0.021	1	0.884		
Likelihood Ratio	0.117	1	0.733		
Fisher's Exact Test				0.846	0.443
Linear-by-Linear Association	0.116	1	0.733		
N of Valid Cases	946				
a. Computed only for a 2x2 table					
b. 0 cells (,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 12,87.					

Table 5.21: Gender and NGO membership in Turkey (SYS)

Crosstab					
			Are you a member of or working voluntarily for a NGO?		Total
			YES	NO	
Gender	Male	Count	86	1,585	1,671
		% within Gender	5.1%	94.9%	100.0%
	Female	Count	49	1,602	1,651
		% within Gender	3.0%	97.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	135	3,187	3,322
		% within Gender	4.1%	95.9%	100.0%

Table 5.22: Gender vs. NGO membership in Turkey (SYS)

Chi-Square Tests					
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	10,111(b)	1	0.001		
Continuity Correction(a)	9.560	1	0.002		
Likelihood Ratio	10.242	1	0.001		
Fisher's Exact Test				0.002	0.001
Linear-by-Linear Association	10.108	1	0.001		
N of Valid Cases	3,322				
a. Computed only for a 2x2 table					
b. 0 cells (,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 67,09.					

Table 5.23: SES and political party membership in Turkey (SYS)

Crosstab						
			Are you working actively for a political party?		Total	
			YES	NO		
SES	A	Count	5	134	139	
		% within SES	3.6%	96.4%	100.0%	
	B	Count	23	405	428	
		% within SES	5.4%	94.6%	100.0%	
	C1	Count	53	1,089	1,142	
		% within SES	4.6%	95.4%	100.0%	
	C2	Count	45	894	939	
		% within SES	4.8%	95.2%	100.0%	
	DE	Count	29	645	674	
		% within SES	4.3%	95.7%	100.0%	
	Total		Count	155	3,167	3,322
			% within SES	4.7%	95.3%	100.0%

Table 5.24: SES vs. political party membership in Turkey (SYS)

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1,074(a)	4	0.898
Likelihood Ratio	1.087	4	0.896
Linear-by-Linear Association	0.082	1	0.774
N of Valid Cases	3,322		

a. 0 cells (,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 6,49.

Table 5.25: Educational status and political party membership in Turkey (SYS)

Crosstab						
			Are you working actively for a political party?		Total	
			YES	NO		
Educational Status	Less than elementary	Count	27	647	674	
		% within Educational Status	4.0%	96.0%	100.0%	
	Elementary Graduate	Count	33	738	771	
		% within Educational Status	4.3%	95.7%	100.0%	
	High School Student	Count	12	266	278	
		% within Educational Status	4.3%	95.7%	100.0%	
	High School Graduate	Count	53	947	1,000	
		% within Educational Status	5.3%	94.7%	100.0%	
	University Student	Count	18	373	391	
		% within Educational Status	4.6%	95.4%	100.0%	
	University Graduate	Count	12	196	208	
		% within Educational Status	5.8%	94.2%	100.0%	
	Total		Count	155	3,167	3,322
			% within Educational Status	4.7%	95.3%	100.0%

Table 5.26: Educational status vs. political party membership in Turkey (SYS)

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2,471(a)	5	0.781
Likelihood Ratio	2.437	5	0.786
Linear-by-Linear Association	0.358	1	0.550
N of Valid Cases	3,322		

a. 0 cells (,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 9,70.

Table 5.27: SES and NGO membership in Turkey (SYS)

Crosstab						
			Are you a member of or working voluntarily for a NGO?		Total	
			YES	NO		
SES	A	Count	11	128	139	
		% within SES	7.9%	92.1%	100.0%	
	B	Count	20	408	428	
		% within SES	4.7%	95.3%	100.0%	
	C1	Count	60	1,082	1,142	
		% within SES	5.3%	94.7%	100.0%	
	C2	Count	26	913	939	
		% within SES	2.8%	97.2%	100.0%	
	DE	Count	18	656	674	
		% within SES	2.7%	97.3%	100.0%	
	Total		Count	135	3,187	3,322
			% within SES	4.1%	95.9%	100.0%

Table 5.28: SES vs. NGO membership in Turkey (SYS)

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	17,235(a)	4	0.002
Likelihood Ratio	16.710	4	0.002
Linear-by-Linear Association	12.985	1	0.000
N of Valid Cases	3,322		

a. 0 cells (,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5,65.

Table 5.29: Educational status and NGO membership in Turkey (SYS)

Crosstab						
			Are you a member of or working voluntarily for a NGO?		Total	
			YES	NO		
Educational Status	Less than elementary	Count	7	667	674	
		% within Educational Status	1.0%	99.0%	100.0%	
	Elementary Graduate	Count	21	750	771	
		% within Educational Status	2.7%	97.3%	100.0%	
	High School Student	Count	10	268	278	
		% within Educational Status	3.6%	96.4%	100.0%	
	High School Graduate	Count	36	964	1,000	
		% within Educational Status	3.6%	96.4%	100.0%	
	University Student	Count	47	344	391	
		% within Educational Status	12.0%	88.0%	100.0%	
	University Graduate	Count	14	194	208	
		% within Educational Status	6.7%	93.3%	100.0%	
	Total		Count	135	3,187	3,322
			% within Educational Status	4.1%	95.9%	100.0%

Table 5.30: Educational status vs. NGO membership in Turkey (SYS)

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	87,367(a)	5	0.000
Likelihood Ratio	72.619	5	0.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	67.151	1	0.000
N of Valid Cases	3,322		
a. 0 cells (,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 8,45.			